

BLACK SKIN ★ BLACK FLAG #7



***Immigration Matters
A Global History***

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A Global History



Ralph McDowell

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bsbfpublishations@hotmail.co.uk

Welcome

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- To make clear that an alternative, just and better world is possible.

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20% of all BSBF profits are being sent directly to a trusted source at a school on the east side of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia to support two students whose families are not able to provide them with their food at lunchtimes or to buy their school uniforms. Dejazmatch Wordirad Primary School currently holds around 4,500 students from the ages of 6 to 13. Class Section 4c, taught by Yemate Zenebe, consists of 62 students (29 boys and 33 girls) aged from 9 to 13 years old. Two of the students (Muluken Diriba and Abenezer Dessalegn) regularly miss out on their lunches and are prone to poor concentration, falling asleep during class, poor punctuality and poor grades. BSBF pledges to provide much needed lunch money (75p per student per day) for the two boys for the school years September 2012 through to June 2016.

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1,960 ETB (£70) – Nov 2013 (*paid 10.11.13*)

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Introduction

As land becomes scarcer and as farming becomes more mechanised, people living in rural areas find it increasingly difficult to get a job and so migrate to cities and towns in search of work. The main stimulus for this movement of people is increasing economic hardship in rural areas and the belief that improving prospects exist in urban areas. Other incentives include the loss, or degradation, of farmland caused by pollution, natural disasters, land grabs, or conflict. Proximity to better health and educational facilities is another key incentive for some to move to urban areas and women may migrate to cities to find less constrained gender roles.

This is urbanisation. It is a population shift from the countryside to towns and cities and has been happening since the earliest cities in Mesopotamia and Egypt up until the present day. However, from the beginning of the 19th century, at the height of the Industrial and Agricultural Revolutions, the pace of urbanisation increased dramatically. According to Chris Watson, director of the Centre for Urban and Regional Studies at the University of Birmingham, the proportion of people living in English cities soared from just 17% in 1801 to 72% in 1891¹. During the 20th century, the global proportion of people living in urban areas increased steadily from 13% in 1900 to 29% in 1950 to 49% in 2005². Today, just over half of the global population is urbanised, or suburbanised, and living on roughly 3% of the world's land surface³. This trend is set to continue. By 2050, an estimated 86% of the developed world and 64% of the underdeveloped world will be urbanised⁴.

All of these drivers that cause people to leave rural areas and come to towns and cities seeking more favourable economic conditions also cause people to move from impoverished parts of the world to places where they have a greater opportunity to improve their economic situation. Crucially, however, the responsibility for much of the world's poverty lies with the developed world and the neo-liberal, capitalist economic structure it has successfully imposed on poor nations, to the huge detriment of their citizens⁵.

For example, according to the New York Times⁶, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), signed by the governments of the United States, Canada and Mexico in 1994, has flat-lined Mexico's annual per capita growth, cut real wages, pushed up unemployment for Mexican workers, and increased the cost of goods for consumers. 2 million Mexican farmers lost their businesses and 20% of Mexicans now live in poverty. As a result, half a million Mexicans crossed the border into the United States every year after NAFTA. It should be noted that NAFTA has been very profitable for US multi-national corporations by providing protected investment in Mexico and a cheap, malleable labour force. American workers suffered as well as Mexican workers, while the American elite got richer. Similar trade deals and their consequences have been repeated around the world many times.

In other words, the main reason why some people are trying desperately to survive in grinding poverty is because others are enjoying more than their fair share of the world's wealth. Globalisation has substantially widened the gap between the global rich and the global poor⁷. The Gini Coefficient⁸ records a dramatic rise in the inequality between countries since the early 1980s⁹, with those in sub-Saharan Africa suffering the worst consequences of preventable impoverishment, i.e. lower earnings, poorer diets, weakened immune systems, increased susceptibility to illness and disease and declining life expectancies¹⁰.

Is it any wonder then that some of the citizens of Burkina Faso, for example, who have a life expectancy at birth of m/f 59/60¹¹ would choose to undertake a perilous journey through the Sahara Desert and risk crossing the Mediterranean Sea to Spain where life expectancy at birth is m/f 80/86¹². On the whole, people in high-income countries live an average of 16 years longer than

those in low-income countries¹³. In other words, moving from a low to a high income country can add about 15 years onto your and your children's lives. Clearly, migration and globalisation are inextricably linked.

So, when living conditions worsen in certain parts of the world, people naturally move to where living conditions seem better. For at least 12,000 years, since the end of the last glacial period, the environment has also played an important role in dictating population movements. It is more or less accepted now that human induced global warming and climate change, caused largely by the lifestyles of people living in developed countries¹⁴, are greatly accelerating and increasing the scale of migrations, triggering humanitarian emergencies and population movements like never before.

For example, in a single year, 2015, more than 19 million people worldwide were internally displaced as a result of natural disasters, twice the number of people displaced by conflict¹⁵. The overwhelming majority of people displaced and still living within the borders of their country of birth in 2015 lived in South and East Asia including 3.7m in India, 3.6m in China, 2.6m in Nepal, 2.2m in the Philippines, 1.6m in Myanmar, 1m in Pakistan, and half a million in both Bangladesh and Japan¹⁶.

Environmental change is now the new major driver of human migration. Gradual or sudden deteriorations in a natural environment caused by climate change or natural disasters clearly makes living in certain parts of the world unsustainable. Sea level rises, floods and landslides, increased frequency of hurricanes, storms and cyclones and tsunamis, higher surface temperatures, forest fires, droughts, desertification, ocean acidification, land pollution and salinisation, coastal erosion and ecosystem degradation, as well as worsening food and water security in many parts of the world, is inevitably forcing more and more people to relocate from their homes.

In Asia and the Pacific regions, Bangladesh is particularly vulnerable to sea-level rises, coastal erosion, cyclones, flooding and landslides as well as droughts in the dry season. Cambodia suffers both floods and droughts; Indonesia and the Philippines are affected by cyclones, tsunamis and flooding; Myanmar is affected most by cyclones; Nepal and Pakistan suffer floods and landslides. In Africa, severe flooding affects Angola and Zimbabwe; sea-level rises threaten the populous Egyptian Nile delta, home to 95% of the country's population; droughts occur periodically in Ethiopia, Somalia, Kenya, Mali, Mozambique, Senegal and Sudan; cyclones and coastal erosion affect the coasts of Madagascar and Mauritius. In the Middle East, Syria is most affected by drought; Yemen by severe flooding. In the Americas, Bolivia and Peru suffer from severe flooding; hurricanes strike particularly hardest in Haiti and Trinidad and Tobago; Mexico suffers droughts¹⁷.

It is broadly accepted that environmental change will both increase the frequency and severity of natural disasters¹⁸, resulting in lower agricultural productivity along with a degradation of clean water and fertile soil and secondly that migration flows caused by these events will inevitably increase. The top two countries expected to be most affected by environmental change in the coming years are Bangladesh, because of its densely populated, low-lying coastal delta, and India because of the enormous strain its huge population puts on its natural resources¹⁹. However, while the incidence of storms, floods and droughts have increased threefold over the last 30 years²⁰, it is the knock-on effect from "slow-onset events" such as droughts that cause the bulk of environment-triggered migration.

Predicting the likely fallout from the effects of environment change, Kathleen Newland, co-founder of the American think-tank Migration Policy Institute, warns: "Whether singly or in combination,

these forces will have a profound effect on human settlement patterns, food and water security, the spread of water – or vector - borne diseases, and competition for non-extractive resources (possibly leading to violent conflict)”²¹.

In the majority of cases, displaced persons lose their homes and means of supporting themselves and most urgently require humanitarian assistance. Patrice Quesada, policy officer at the International Organisation for Migration explains: “Displaced populations in distress often find themselves in an alien environment with limited resources, fragile housing and increased health risks due to lack of access to medical services. This particularly concerns the most vulnerable groups such as pregnant women, children, the elderly and people with disabilities”²².

War is another major reason why people flee their homes. Innocent civilians are disproportionately affected by war. Over the last 3 centuries, an average of roughly half of all war related deaths were civilian²³. However, since the start of the 20th century, the proportion of civilian casualties as compared to military casualties has risen sharply. According to a 2009 report by the European Council, 4 million people died around the world as a result of war between 1990 and 2003. An alarming 90 percent were civilians²⁴. Even the supposedly precise US military and CIA drone strikes against militants in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Yemen and Somalia from 2009 onwards resulted in a “civilian casualty ratio” of nearly 9:1²⁵. While the focus on Remembrance Day is almost exclusively on the armed forces’ casualties in wars since World War I, the huge numbers of innocent, unarmed civilians killed, maimed and displaced by combatants are all but forgotten.

In a single year, 2014, there were almost 11 million new cases globally of people being internally displaced as a result of war and violence²⁶ and almost 3 million new refugees forced to cross borders²⁷. In 2015, there were 8.6 million new cases globally of people being internally displaced as a result of war or violence²⁸ and 1.8 million new refugees forced to cross borders²⁹.

Most of the people displaced but still living within their borders, lived in the Middle East and Europe including 2.2 million in Yemen, 1.3m in Syria, 1.2m in Iraq and almost 1m in Ukraine³⁰. At the end of 2015, the overall number of people internally displaced as a result of war and violence, counting those of previous years, was 40.8 million³¹ including 6.6 million Syrians and 6.3 million Columbians³².

Modern-day slavery and forced labour migration represents yet another key driver for internal and cross-border migration. Human trafficking, which differs from people smuggling, is the illegal recruitment of a person by force or fraud for compelled labour or sexual exploitation. This usually occurs through violence, or threats of violence, or more subtly through debt bondage or retention of passports or identity papers. According to the International Labour Organisation, there were almost 21 million victims of forced labour globally at the end of 2012, including 5.5 million children, trapped in highly exploitative jobs from which they are unable to leave³³. Just over 9 million, or 44% of the total, have been moved from their place of origin³⁴.

The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime reports: “Most detected trafficking victims are subjected to sexual exploitation”³⁵. Sex trafficking typically begins with false promises of a good job overseas but on arrival the young woman or child is sold by pimps or criminal gangs into the sex industry. Social media, dating and pornographic websites, chat rooms, message boards and online advertisements are then commonly used as tools to sell victims as commercial sex workers or indentured sex slaves under the guise of “erotic services” to perpetrators including sexual predators and paedophiles.

Victims of human trafficking may also include those who have unwillingly entered a forced or underage marriage. According to Unicef, over 700 million women living in the world today were married before their 18th birthday³⁶. In many cases, these girls suffer domestic and sexual abuse and become pregnant before their bodies (i.e., their pelvis and birth canal) are able to deliver their babies. Complications in childbirth is the leading cause of death for girls aged 15-19 in underdeveloped countries³⁷. The scale of the problem is huge. In 2012, the World Health Organisation reported: “births among adolescents account for 11% of all births worldwide”³⁸. Although underage marriage is most prevalent within south Asia³⁹, the problem persists in all parts of the world. The minimum legal marriage age for girls in Chad is currently 14-15 years⁴⁰. In Saudi Arabia, Yemen and the USA it is 9-13 years⁴¹. Many of these child brides cross borders either to join spouses in more affluent countries or to get married in the country of their parent’s birth. The UK Home Office Forced Marriage Unit handled 1,220 such cases of alleged forced marriage in 2015⁴². 86% of these cases had an overseas element and over a quarter involved victims under 18 years old⁴³.

Finally, many people also migrate for family reasons, for example for marriage to someone living in a different location or more commonly to re-unite with family members who have themselves migrated previously.

These then are some of the main reasons why people feel induced or obliged to move from the country of their origin. They are usually motivated by a combination of push/pull factors related to the environment, employment, personal safety, political stability, personal freedom, religious tolerance, or gender inequalities. This issue examines the main movements of people throughout history from the earliest times up until the present day. It puts emphasis on the Jewish, Roma and New World migrations because of the underlying racist environment that forced these migrations to take place, as well as immigration into Britain, as this topic is again at the forefront of public and political debate.

1. A Global Overview

The history of migration begins with the dawn of humankind in the Rift Valley where the earliest known human, *Homo erectus* or “upright man”, left Africa more than 1.5 million years ago⁴⁴ and migrated from there to most parts of the world before dying out at some point within the last 500,000 years according to DNA evidence⁴⁵. *Homo erectus* fossils have been unearthed in Indonesia 1.8 million years old, in southern Africa 1 million years old, in China (near Beijing) 1 million years old and in Spain around 800,000 years old⁴⁶. Meanwhile, *Homo heidelbergensis* lived in Africa, Europe and western Asia between 600,000 and 300,000 years ago⁴⁷ evolving into *homo neanderthalensis*, who occupied the length and breadth of Europe and further east into Siberia from as far back as 130,000 years ago⁴⁸.

The earliest known modern humans in the world, said to be around 195,000 years old⁴⁹, were discovered in the area of North-East Africa that is now called Ethiopia. Archaeologist and author Neil Oliver states that “Modern humans (*homo sapiens*) began in sub-Saharan Africa over 200,000 years ago and stayed snuggled in that warm cradle until as recently as 50,000BC or 60,000BC”⁵⁰ before leaving the continent, almost certainly overland through modern day Egypt⁵¹, and steadily migrated throughout the world. But before humans left Africa, they had already spread the length and breadth of the continent. By around 82,000 years ago, modern humans were living in the far



The Long Walk out of Africa



north west of Africa in today's Morocco⁵² and between 75,000 and 55,000 years ago along the southern coast of South Africa⁵³.

Modern humans left Africa and moved steadily eastwards along the coasts to India and beyond, south-east Asia by sea, reaching the northern coast of Australia 50,000 years ago⁵⁴ and the southernmost point of the country 31,000 years ago⁵⁵. Papuan seafarers began colonising and island hopping the Pacific islands, beginning with the large island that is now New Guinea. 28,000 years ago they had reached the Solomon Islands⁵⁶. Tonga, Fiji and Samoa were settled by Polynesians in c. 1500 BC, Tahiti in 200 BC and New Zealand around 1000 AD⁵⁷.

Homo sapiens arrived in Europe around 45,000 years ago⁵⁸, sharing the continent with homo neanderthalensis (Neanderthals) for about 15,000 years⁵⁹. Eventually, Neanderthals were displaced and driven to extinction. Russel King, Professor of geography at the University of Sussex, affirms that "Wherever homo sapiens appeared, other homo species gradually disappeared"⁶⁰. According to the English anatomist and author Alice Roberts, the "dispersal into central and western Europe happened fairly rapidly, between 46,000 and 41,000 years ago"⁶¹.

While one of the major migratory paths led humans east and southeast along the coasts of Asia, some groups branched off and journeyed north and northeast into the vast, unexplored territories that are now Russia and China. These groups are thought to have followed rivers inland reaching southern Siberia around 42,000 years ago⁶², northern Siberia 30,000 years ago⁶³ and China between 30,000 and 10,000 years ago⁶⁴.

The first migrants to reach North America entered the continent by foot, between 36,000 and 16,000 years ago⁶⁵, across the "Bering land bridge", a landmass the size of Europe called Beringia that then connected northeast Asia (Siberia) to northwest America (Alaska). A great continental ice sheet stretched the entire breadth of North America blocking any migratory routes south until about 13,500 years ago⁶⁶ when the climate warmed and a corridor between the ice appeared creating a path south for the founding population of the Americas. The first Americans colonised both continents initially by migratory paths down the Pacific coast⁶⁷. Almost 13,000 years ago, humans were living near modern day Los Angeles⁶⁸, in Brazil around 13,000 years ago⁶⁹ and along the coast of Chile between 11,000 and 13,000 years ago⁷⁰. Genetic research indicates that indigenous Americans came from Siberia⁷¹, that they have low rates of genetic variation⁷² and therefore, the initial population groups must have been small, perhaps 2-3,000 at most⁷³.

The first farmers in Africa lived in the Sahara around 6000BC. But by around 4000BC, when the Sahara became too hot to support life, they were forced to move northwards towards the coastal areas, north-east into the Nile Valley and southwards into the less dry Savannah belt just north of the equatorial forests. The great Bantu migrations, beginning in present day Nigeria and Cameroon around c.2500BC and reaching South Africa in 1000AD, resulted in the almost complete displacement or assimilation of the two other main sub-Saharan peoples of the period, the Khoi and the "pygmies". Most importantly, Bantu speaking peoples brought with them farming, a settled way of life and highly skilled metalworking⁷⁴.

Based along the coasts of present day Lebanon and Syria, the Phoenicians established trade routes spanning the Mediterranean and Aegean Seas and beyond as far north as Brittany between the 11th and 9th centuries BC. Trading posts and colonies were set up all along the north coast of Africa, most notably at Carthage in 814BC, on Cyprus, Greece, Sicily, Sardinia and along the south coast of Spain. Phoenicians were instrumental in spreading literacy by introducing the alphabet to North Africa, Greece, Italy and Spain⁷⁵.

The ancient Greeks colonised the entire Mediterranean, the Black Sea and east into Asia from c.1450BC up until around 500BC. The author and Rabbi Chaim Potok writes: "wherever the Greeks went they took with them the elements of their civilisation: language and literature, gods and games, the basic political ingredients of their unique invention, the polis"⁷⁶. The achievements of Greek civilisation greatly influenced Western science, philosophy, architecture, art, literature, political institutions and shaped, to a large degree, the rise of Roman civilisation. King points out: "The Romans borrowed much from the culture of the Greeks who had settled in Italy: the Latin alphabet was adapted from the Greek alphabet and the Greek gods were adopted wholesale"⁷⁷.

From around 600BC until 300BC, the Celts, whose earliest known presence has been discovered at an archaeological site in the Austrian Alps, migrated, conquered and settled throughout the length and breadth of Europe, from the Atlantic coast to the Black Sea reaching as far north-west as Britain and Ireland and as far south-east as Egypt and Syria. The historian and writer John Haywood asserts: "The weakening of the Etruscans by the Celtic migrations created a long term opportunity for the small city-state of Rome to start expanding its own territory"⁷⁸.

From around 500BC until 100AD, the Roman Empire conquered, colonised and assimilated the peoples of North Africa, the Middle East, most of Central and Western Europe, as well as large parts of Britain. Discharged legionaries were settled throughout the Empire, given a pension, a plot of land and encouraged to take local wives. Any child whose father was a Roman citizen automatically gained Roman citizenship, as were indigenous inhabitants if they were judged to have adopted the Roman way of life⁷⁹. In this way, outlying provinces were Romanized. The writer and historian Guy de la Bedoyere maintains that "the Roman 'achievement' was unparalleled in the ancient world, and would have been remarkable by any historical standards until electricity and mechanization arrived"⁸⁰.

Between 48-454AD, the dreaded Huns migrated from their homeland in the steppes of eastern Asia all the way into central Europe but, after the death of their most famous leader Attila the Hun in 453, most Huns returned back to the steppes.

Between 376 and 493AD, the Goths, from present day Romania (Visigoths) and Ukraine (Ostrogoths), migrated westwards throughout Europe, mainly in response to Hun incursions, sacked Rome in 409 and conquered Spain between 469-78.

The Vandals, an East Germanic tribe originating from present day Denmark, embarked on a great migration in c. 390AD of more than 3,000 miles through Western Europe, into North Africa and founded a kingdom in 439 in present day Tunisia. Like the Goths before them, the Vandals were fleeing the Hun advance. During the course of their epic journey, the Vandals invaded the Roman Empire in 406, invaded and occupied Spain in 409-11, invaded North Africa in 429, captured Carthage in 439 and sacked Rome in 455.

Beginning in 632 in the Arabian Peninsula, the Arab empire expanded so swiftly that, in just 80 years, it stretched from India and the borders of China in the east all the way through the Middle East, across North Africa and up into Spain in the west. To ensure that conquered populations remained loyal, Arab soldiers and officials were settled in military garrisons at numerous sites throughout the empire. Before long, merchants and artisans from Arabia began arriving at the garrisons. Conquered land was sub-let out to Arab farmers and soon after, large-scale migrations of Arab families and whole tribes into the newly acquired lands began⁸¹. The most significant and enduring legacy of Arab expansion was the religious conversion of their conquered populations to

Islam and their adoption of the Arabic language. For the most part, the same area today remains overwhelmingly Muslim and Arabic speaking.

Between 793 and 1000, Vikings, from Norway, Denmark and Sweden, raided the coasts and waterways around Scandinavia, the British Isles, northern Europe, the Mediterranean Sea, Iceland, Greenland and North America. From around the 850s, Viking armies seized land for settlement, especially in Scotland, England and northern France and replaced the local ruling elite. In around 860, Iceland was settled. Fifty years later, around 20,000 Vikings (mostly from Norway) and Irish slaves lived on the island. Southwest Greenland was discovered and settled in 983. In 1000, Leif the Lucky became the first known European to arrive in America although his attempts to found a settlement there failed⁸². Haywood makes the point: "By breaking up the existing power structures of western Europe, the Vikings were important agents of change in European history... The failure of Charlemagne's successors to stop Viking raids helped undermine their authority, contributing to the break-up of the Frankish empire and the emergence from its ruins of the kingdoms of France, Germany and Italy"⁸³. Dublin City, originally a small Viking settlement called Dubh Linn, was used as a raiding base from 841, later becoming the first town to develop in Ireland and afterwards became its capital city. While the Norwegian and Danish Viking fleets expanded south and west, Swedish Vikings, known as Rus, from which Russia takes its name, forced their way south as far as Constantinople and east along the Volga river deep into the Russian interior.

Hungarians, or Magyars as they prefer to be called, trace their origins to a number of steppe, nomadic, pastoralist peoples from Siberia who eventually reached present day Hungary in 896-906. The Magyars settled in the Carpathian Basin from where they raided much of Europe especially Germany, Italy and France until they were crushed at the battle at Lechfield near Augsburg in 955.

Based in the Yellow River Valley, the Chinese Han dynasty (206BC-220AD) increased its sphere of influence southwards to roughly where China's southern border is today. By the 10th century, more than half the entire Chinese population lived in the south, increasing to 90 percent by the 13th century⁸⁴. From the 17th until the early 20th centuries, the Qing dynasty pushed China's western border deep into Central Asia. Between 1845 and 1900, around 2.3 million Chinese migrants moved overseas to destinations including Malaya, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Latin America, the USA and the Caribbean⁸⁵. Established in 1949, the Communist People's Republic of China encouraged westward migration of Han Chinese deep into Tibet with the result that indigenous Tibetans are now outnumbered in their capital city Lhasa. By 1995, there were around 20 million Chinese emigrants living abroad in Southeast Asia and 2 million elsewhere in the world⁸⁶.

The British colonisation of Ireland began when King Henry II of England conquered and declared himself overlord of Ireland in 1172. Castles (including at Carrickfergus) and walled settlements (including Galway and Anthenry) were built and populated by English peasants, merchants and artisans. Soon after, Irish resistance to British rule shifted from open battles to guerrilla skirmishes, effectively slowing the pace of English settlement. The Black Death in Ireland (1348-50) impacted to a greater extent the overcrowded medieval towns, where most English settlers lived, than rural areas populated more so by Irish. Many settlers returned to England and Scotland where wages were higher, while those who remained became Gaelicised⁸⁷.

By the end of the 15th century, English rule in Ireland had shrunk to the Pale, the area surrounding Dublin city. During the 16th and 17th centuries, the English crown again set out to colonise Ireland, this time through a process known as the plantation system. Irish held land was confiscated and

awarded to British colonists, principally in the northern province of Ulster from 1606 onwards and, to a lesser extent, Munster in the south from 1586 onwards. Under the authority of King James I (r. 1603-25), "the displacement of the native population became official policy"⁸⁸. Large swathes of land in counties Derry, Tyrone, Donegal, Armagh, Fermanagh and Cavan were seized from Catholic Irish landowners and given over to Protestant Scots and English tenant farmers. 4,000 of an estimated 36,000 Protestant settlers were killed in the Irish uprising of 1641-2. This led to the outbreak of the Irish Confederate Wars, defeated in 1653 by England's New Model Army, headed by the English political and military leader Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658). Cromwell initiated a punishing new phase of Catholic land confiscation and Protestant colonisation.

Conditions improved briefly for Irish Catholics during the short reign of the Catholic King James II of England (r. 1685-88) until his defeat at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690 by the Dutch Prince William of Orange who ruled as King William III of England until his death in 1702. New and even harsher penal laws came into effect further disabling the civil liberties and economic opportunities of Irish Catholics as well as Presbyterians. The Acts of Union (1800) united the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland until ratified in 1922 by the Provisional Government in Dublin led by Michael Collins. Ireland became the Irish Free State on 6 December 1922 and a fully independent republic in 1949.

As western European nations were setting up colonies in the Americas, Russia was pushing her borders eastwards into Siberia. In 1581, the Russian Tsar Ivan IV (r.1533-84), or "Ivan the Terrible", ordered an offensive against the Tatar khanate of Sibir. 100 years later, Russia had conquered the whole of Siberia, all the way east to the Bering Sea. European diseases, especially smallpox, devastated indigenous populations. Siberia has long since been used as a place of banishment by the state for political dissidents, criminals, or to relocate entire ethnic groups. By the end of the 17th century, roughly 11 percent of Russians lived as exiles in Siberia. Thousands more freed serfs migrated into Siberia enticed by offers of free land. In 1724, 400,000 Russians lived alongside 200,000 indigenous Siberians⁸⁹. In 1858, there were 2.3 million Russians living in Siberia⁹⁰. Between 1880 and 1914, another 5 million Russians migrated into Siberia, in large part due to the abolition of serfdom in 1861 and aided by the completion in 1904 of the Trans-Siberian Railway, the world's longest railway⁹¹. During Joseph Stalin's (1878-1953) leadership of the Soviet Union, between the mid 1920s and 1953, an estimated 29 million people⁹² were forcibly relocated to the isolated Gulag prison camps to work as slave labourers.

The abolition of slavery in the Americas brought with it severe labour shortages throughout the British Empire. In response, Britain began actively recruiting indentured labourers from India and elsewhere. Between 1834 and 1910, nearly half a million Indians went to work in Mauritius⁹³. Between 1850 and 1900, 1.75 million went to Malaya, 1.16 million to Burma, 2.3 million to Sri Lanka and under half a million to the Caribbean⁹⁴. The largest mass migration in human history occurred during the partition of India after British rule came to an end in 1947 and the retributive genocide that followed. 10 million Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims were displaced and, within a few months, relocated either to the new Union of India or the Dominion of Pakistan⁹⁵.

Just as Russia expelled its social undesirables to Siberia, Britain colonised Australia from 1787 until 1868 with exiled convicts. King states: "Systematic exile became a natural part of England's justice system"⁹⁶. The first fleet, including 11 ships and over 700 prisoners, arrived at Botany Bay after a six month voyage on 24 January 1788. Over the next 60 years, 162,000 convicts were shipped to Australia⁹⁷. Free British settlers also immigrated to Australia and by 1851, made up most of its 400,000 population⁹⁸. Around 1 million, mainly white Britons were given permission to settle in

Australia between 1946 and 1972 under the “Assisted Passage Migration Scheme”⁹⁹. Known as the “Ten Pound Toms”, adults were required to pay a nominal £10 for the journey, passage for children was free.

At the end of the 2nd World War, Poland was awarded a large slice of Germany to compensate for the territory it lost in the east of the country to Russia. Millions of Germans chose to leave and relocate to what remained of Germany along with another 3 million Germans who lived elsewhere in Europe¹⁰⁰. During the economic boom of the 1960s, 1 million mainly young, skilled Turkish male immigrants were invited to work in West Germany as guest workers mostly in factories and on construction sites to fulfil acute labour shortages¹⁰¹.

From 1978, 800,000¹⁰² Vietnamese migrants, called “boat people”, sought to flee poverty and persecution by taking to the open seas in small boats. Many more died at sea, were raped or killed by pirates. Also, in Vietnam at the same time, around 250,000 Chinese crossed the northern border and settled in China¹⁰³. In the late 1970s, during Pol Pot’s leadership, around 800,000 Cambodians fled into Thailand¹⁰⁴. Russia’s conflict with the mujahedin in Afghanistan in the 1980s caused 6 million refugees to cross into Pakistan and Iran¹⁰⁵.

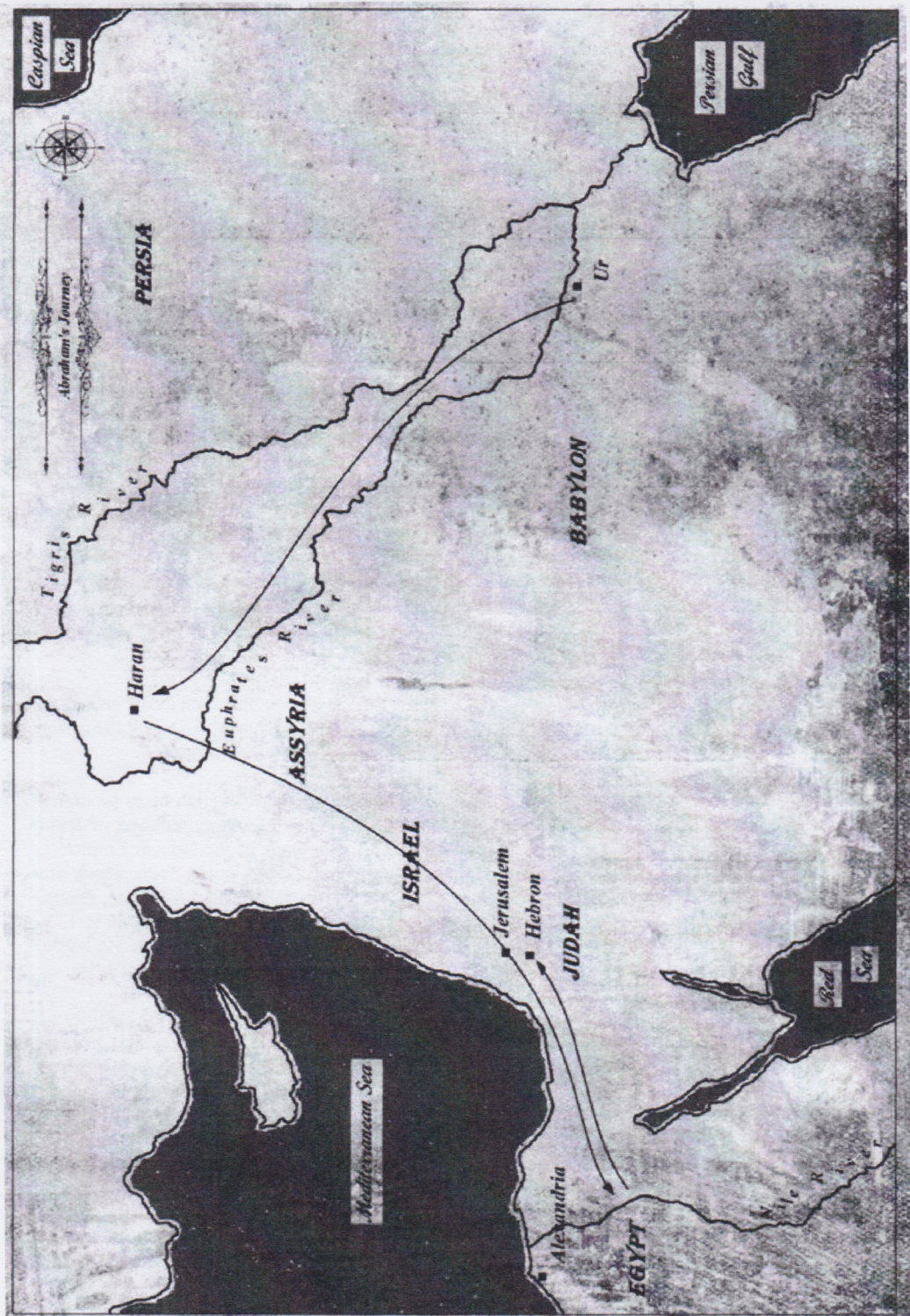
According to figures released by the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs in 2016, nearly 5 million people have so far fled Syria since the beginning of the civil War in 2011 and are living mostly in neighbouring countries¹⁰⁶. 6 ½ million have been internally displaced, 1 million have been injured and 250,000 have so far been killed¹⁰⁷.

According to the United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR), there were over 65 million forcibly displaced people worldwide in 2016¹⁰⁸. Refugee camps have been set up throughout the world most notably in Chad, Uganda, Ethiopia, Kenya, Cameroon, Iraq, Turkey and Jordan. By far the largest of these is the UNHCR base at Dadaab in Kenya set up in 1991 and which now hosts 350,000 refugees¹⁰⁹ mostly from Somalia.

2. Jewish Wanderings

The history of Jewish wanderings begins roughly 4,000 years ago¹¹⁰ with Abraham, founding father of the three main monotheistic religions: Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Abraham left his home city of Ur, in present day southern Iraq, and migrated with his family around 1,000 km North West to the city of Haran, in present day Turkey, where he is believed to have received God’s calling¹¹¹. From Haran, they travelled on to Canaan, through the Sinai into Egypt and back to Canaan again where Abraham died and was buried at the Cave of the Patriarchs in present day Hebron.

Abraham’s grandson Jacob had twelve sons and from these twelve sons the twelve tribes of Israel are descended¹¹². Some of the twelve and their families migrated south into Egypt to escape a famine while the others stayed behind in Canaan. According to the historian and author Max Dimont, The Israelites in Egypt were enslaved for around 400 years¹¹³ before escaping with their liberator Moses in around 1280 BC¹¹⁴. The Exodus, as it became known, was followed by 40 years of nomadic wanderings in the Sinai desert, where Moses received the Covenant, and Negev desert until they finally reached Canaan in 1240 BC. In sight of the Promised Land, Moses climbed to the



top of Mt. Nebo in present day Jordan and died. The Israelites conquered Canaan, led by Joshua. Cohn-Sherbok, Professor Emeritus of Judaism at the University of Wales, explains: "The Exodus and the entry into the Promised Land were seen as the unfolding of a divine plan"¹¹⁵.

Reunited, the twelve tribes of Israel successfully defended their territory from a number of neighbouring armies until losing the sacred Ark of the Covenant, the wooden chest containing the two stone tablets of the Ten Commandments, to the Philistines at the Battle of Aphek in 1094 BC. Although the Ark was returned less than a year later, the tribal federation collapsed soon after. In c. 1020 BC, Saul was anointed first king of a United Kingdom of Israel (in the north) and Judah (in the south). After Saul's death in 1010 BC, King David ruled for 40 years until 970 BC and then his son Solomon ruled for another 40 years until his death in around 930 BC. Israel and Judah prospered during Solomon's reign¹¹⁶. The First Temple of YHWH, devoid of images, was built on Temple Mount inside the fortified city of Jerusalem and the Ark of the Covenant, brought to Jerusalem by King David, was housed in its Inner House, the Holy of Holies.

After Solomon's death, the kingdom split in two. Ten tribes inhabited the north and the tribes of Judah and Benjamin lived in the south. The ten northern tribes were dispersed in 721 BC, when the Assyrian king Sargon II (722-705BC) conquered the kingdom of Israel and forced tens of thousands of Jews into exile to Mesopotamia, most of the rest fleeing south into Judah¹¹⁷. In 587 BC, King Nebuchadnezzar II (605-562BC) of Babylon captured Jerusalem. The Temple was burned to the ground, a catastrophe for the Israelites, and large numbers of Jews were deported to Babylon¹¹⁸. Thousands of Jews also fled into Egypt¹¹⁹. The Persian king, Cyrus the Great (c.600-530BC), conquered Babylon in 539BC, freed the Jews from slavery and allowed them to return to Judah. Around 40,000¹²⁰ did so and the Temple was rebuilt in 515BC, funded by King Cyrus. Over 100,000 stayed on in Babylon¹²¹.

During the reign of Alexander the Great (r. 336-323BC), large numbers of Jews settled in Alexandria, attracted by new commercial opportunities and religious tolerance¹²². During the period towards 100BC, dispersed Jewish populations sprung up in Greece, Rome and Arabia¹²³.

Judah fell under the jurisdiction of Rome in 63 BC and was renamed Judea. High taxes prompted the Jews to rebel in 66AD. The uprising was defeated four years later and large numbers of Jews, the vast majority of the survivors¹²⁴, were dispersed as slaves throughout the Roman Empire¹²⁵. Jerusalem was levelled, the Temple completely destroyed in 70AD and the Jewish State, which had survived more or less intact alongside the mighty civilisations of Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Persia, Greece and Rome, finally ended. After the failed Bar Kokhba uprising against Roman rule in 132-136 AD, Jews were banned from entering Jerusalem. Over half a million Jews were killed in battle, not counting those who died of hunger and disease¹²⁶. Large parts of Judea were cleared of Jews.

Constantine (272-337AD), the first Roman Christian emperor, declared Jews to be the enemies of Christ¹²⁷. John Chrysostom (349-407AD), one of the most revered and influential Christian preachers of the late 4th, early 5th centuries, delivered a series of anti-Jewish homilies which asserted collective Jewish responsibility for the death of Jesus and stressed the duty of Christians to hate Jews¹²⁸. Simon Schama, Professor of History and Art at Columbia University, states: "Chrysostom launched his eight homilies *Against the Jews*: the rhetorical onslaught which, literally, demonized the Jews, made them all creatures of the Devil and their synagogues annexes of his lair. Its impact was immediate and long-lasting"¹²⁹.

In the 5th century AD, the main concentration of Jews worldwide was in Babylon, the descendants of the 6th century BC exiles, who lived in well integrated minority communities along the Tigris and

Euphrates rivers¹³⁰. Potak estimates there were around 1 million Babylonian Jews at the start of the 3rd century AD¹³¹.

Following the destruction of the 2nd Temple in 70AD, many Jews fled into Arabia reaching as far south as the kingdom of Himyar in present day Yemen. Over the next four centuries the Jewish population increased dramatically, boosted by substantial numbers of forced conversions of Arab pagans to Judaism¹³². However, following the defeat of the last Jewish king of Himyar, Dhu Nuwas, by the Aksumite/Ethiopian king Kaleb in around 520-525AD, many Jews moved northwards into the towns and cities that would soon come under the control of Muhammad and his successors. Muhammad's 2nd Successor Umar (579-644AD) expelled all non-Muslims from Arabia¹³³. Some Jews did remain in pockets here and there, most notably in Himyar to the extreme south. Of the rest, some converted to Islam, the remainder moved north into Palestine, Egypt, Syria or Mesopotamia. Throughout the rest of the vast Muslim empire, Jews were allowed to remain and practice their religion in relative peace¹³⁴ as protected subjects of the State¹³⁵. Jewish life prospered¹³⁶.

In the 7th century, 90 percent¹³⁷ of world Jewry lived under Islamic rule where they enjoyed greater freedom than those living in Christian Europe. Jews viewed Christians as idol worshippers who had made a deity out of a human being. Christians viewed Jews as usurers and the killers of Christ. Haywood states: "The position of Jews in medieval Europe was never secure"¹³⁸. Oftentimes, they were forced to wear distinctive yellow, star-shaped badges that identified them as Jews.

Jews were seen as perpetually impure. Jewish men were said to menstruate every month and to suffer bloody haemorrhoids that would rupture every Easter in atonement for the bloodshed of Jesus on the cross¹³⁹. This gave rise to the belief that Jews suffered a blood deficit, which it was said accounted for their anaemic pallor, and suspicions they abducted, killed and devoured the blood of Christian children¹⁴⁰. They were regularly accused of heresies and rumoured to be poisoning wells. Jews were also said to murder and sacrifice their own offspring to demons¹⁴¹ and suspected of stealing and then desecrating the Eucharist host¹⁴².

Slanders like these led to horrific consequences. Jews were hunted down and mass-murdered in their thousands throughout Europe¹⁴³. Entire Jewish communities were wiped out. Nevertheless, large numbers of Jews still began entering Europe by the beginning of the 8th century AD¹⁴⁴. In 711AD, Muslim soldiers conquered Spain. The Jewish population, numbering around 300,000¹⁴⁵ and living as slaves at the time, were released and garrisoned at each newly subjugated area.

On July 15, 1099, Christian Crusaders entered Jerusalem. Many of those Jews not killed in the ensuing bloodbath were driven into one of the city's synagogues, the building set alight and the Jews inside burned to death¹⁴⁶. In Europe throughout the Crusading period, between the 11th and 15th centuries, Christian mobs terrorised Jewish communities. In May 1096, in the German city of Worms, nearly the entire Jewish community of around 1,000 was massacred¹⁴⁷. Many Jewish men killed their own women and children rather than surrender to the mob¹⁴⁸. Suicides were common¹⁴⁹. Of the 800 Jews of Cologne who fled to Altenahr, five men were selected to kill the rest¹⁵⁰.

From around 1100AD, Jews living in Western Europe began moving into Eastern Europe to escape a sharp escalation of anti-Semitic persecution. France expelled its Jewish population in 1254, followed by England in 1290. Jews were blamed for starting the "Black Death" of the 14th century. Thousands were slaughtered across Germany, France and Spain; 6,000 in Mainz alone¹⁵¹. In response, many Jews fled east into Poland and Lithuania. Those who stayed behind were forced to live in walled Ghettos. Although many Jews converted to Christianity, many of these were

suspected of practicing Judaism in secret. Over a 12 year period, the Inquisition judged as many as 13,000 Christian converts were secretly practicing Judaism. Schama states: "Virtually unlimited powers of torture were granted to extract 'full' confessions from those suspected of relapsing or, worse, those who were impenitent, active Judaizers"¹⁵². They were burned alive¹⁵³. In Spain, the Spanish Inquisition ended 800 years of Muslim rule and expelled its Jewish population, numbering around 170,000¹⁵⁴ in 1492. The majority, around 90,000 fled to the Ottoman Empire, 25,000 went to the Netherlands, 20,000 to Morocco¹⁵⁵.

In the 16th century, there were around 150,000 Jews living in Poland¹⁵⁶. In the mid 17th century, Poland was overrun in an uprising known as the "Deluge", first by Cossacks, then by Ukrainians and Tartars. Within 6 years, the Russians and the Swedes had joined the fight against the Poles and their Jewish allies. About 75,000 Jews died¹⁵⁷.

By the mid 18th century, most Jews in the world lived in Europe¹⁵⁸. Those who lived in Eastern Europe suffered frequent pogroms and in response began migrating west where they were given greater security and rights. But, most Enlightenment thinkers despised Jews¹⁵⁹. The French philosopher Voltaire (1694–1778) wrote that all men were worthy of freedom except the Jews, because they were not of the same species as the rest of mankind. In Voltaire's opinion, Jews were corrupt and evil, even their very character was twisted¹⁶⁰.

After a number of failed attempts to remove Jews from Russia, Catherine the Great (1729-1796) set up in 1791 what became known as the Pale of Settlement, a region on the western border of Russia between the Baltic and Black Seas where Jews were legally required to live. At the end of the 19th century, around 5 million Jews lived in Russia¹⁶¹. But anti-Semitism was on the rise again. During the early 1880s, a series of large-scale, targeted, anti-Jewish riots broke out in the overcrowded cities and towns of the Pale, most notably in Kiev, Warsaw and Odessa and again between 1903-06. In response, between 1880 and 1914, around 3 million Jews fled Russia¹⁶². Roughly 2.5 million went to live in America¹⁶³. The Jewish Encyclopaedia explains: "While the riots of 1881 were the immediate cause of the increased emigration, the true cause was undoubtedly the very unfortunate economic condition of the Jewish population in Russia, and the riots merely supplied the stimulus"¹⁶⁴.

In 1880, around 27,000 Jews lived in Ottoman controlled Palestine¹⁶⁵ rising to 90,000 by 1917¹⁶⁶, 160,000 in 1929 and 500,000 by 1939¹⁶⁷. The first Aliyah, immigration to Palestine, included more than 30,000 Jews who fled persecution in Russia in the 1880s¹⁶⁸. The second Aliyah, coinciding with a rise in anti-Semitism, again in Russia, from 1904-14, included around 40,000 eastern European Jews¹⁶⁹. Between 1919 and 1939, Palestine, then under British rule, attracted around 250,000 Jewish immigrants¹⁷⁰, 100,000 of these fleeing Nazi Germany during the 1930s¹⁷¹. In 1880, 250,000 Jews lived in the USA. By the 1920s, this figure had increased to 4 million¹⁷².

From the 1930s until the end of the 2nd World War in 1945, a human tragedy unfolded of unimaginable magnitude. The focal point this time was in Germany. Peter Neville, Research Fellow in History at Kingston University, explains how German Jews progressively lost their civil rights¹⁷³. Boycotts and attacks on Jewish businesses became common. Jews lost the right to vote and to hold German citizenship. Jewish lawyers, professors, doctors and teachers were sacked. Jews were attacked and humiliated in the streets and inside their homes. Businesses were expropriated. Synagogues were burned down. Jews were barred from employment and their children banned from attending state schools. Curfews were introduced. More and more Jews were expelled from the country and forced to live in the ghettos of Poland. Throughout the 1930s, around 300,000 Jews

fled anti-Semitism in Germany¹⁷⁴. In 1938-39, 150,000 Jews fled extreme anti-Semitism in Austria alone¹⁷⁵.

And then... the Holocaust.

Hundreds of thousands of Jews were killed by mass shootings, carried out by Nazi Einsatzgruppen, mobile paramilitary death squads¹⁷⁶. Annihilation camps were set up specifically for the systematic gassing of Jews with the cyanide based pesticide known as Zyklon B. Across Nazi-controlled Europe, Jewish ghettos were emptied and their occupants transported in freight trains either to the annihilation camps or to the "extermination through labour camps" where prisoners were literally worked to death and died gradually of starvation, disease or exhaustion.

Before the outbreak of World War II, there were 18 million Jews worldwide¹⁷⁷, half of whom lived in Europe¹⁷⁸. By the end of World War II, two thirds, or 6 million¹⁷⁹, of the Europe's Jewish population had been murdered at the hands of the Nazis during the Holocaust, including 90 percent of German and Polish Jewry¹⁸⁰.

In 1947, the United Nations ended almost 2,000 years of constant migration (since the Roman conquest) for the Jewish Diaspora by granting nationhood to the state of Israel. 600,000 Jews lived in Israel at its founding on May 14, 1948¹⁸¹. More than 3 million Diaspora Jews from around the world have undergone Aliyah to the state of Israel since its inception¹⁸². In that same year, 1948, around 700,000¹⁸³ out of a total of 900,000¹⁸⁴ Palestinians left, or were expelled from their homes, to live as refugees in neighbouring Arab countries.

3. Roma Wanderings

For a thousand years or more, the Roma, popularly known as Gypsies, Pigeys, Gypos, Tinkers etc, have been wandering stateless from a starting point believed to be somewhere in the northwest of the Indian subcontinent¹⁸⁵, possibly from the regions known today as Rajasthan and the Punjab¹⁸⁶. From there they migrated to Iran, then into Armenia, Syria and Turkey, and from there they moved into and throughout Europe.

In 1777, the German scholar Johann Rudiger was among the first to trace the history of the Roma back to India¹⁸⁷. He gathered together a large, convincing body of linguistic evidence that showed the lineage of Romani dialects as resembling the sounds, structure and lexicon of some Indian languages¹⁸⁸. Ian Hancock, professor of English, linguistics and Asian Studies at the University of Texas, also lists many cultural parallels between Roma and Indians¹⁸⁹. For instance, the Indian *bhairava* musical scale is extensively used by Roma musicians in Hungary, Slovakia and Transylvania and the uniquely Indian musical style known as *bol* is practiced by Roma vocalists in Hungary.

The original Indian caste of the Roma is not certain. It is also not clear if they left India as one group, or whether there was a second, or possibly more than two exoduses. The historian and writer Angus Fraser suggests that war or famine were probably the triggers for the initial movement out of India¹⁹⁰. According to the American writer Isabel Fonseca, this first migration occurred in the 10th century¹⁹¹. However, according to the 10th century Arabian historian Hamza of Ispahan, the Persian king Bahram Gur, whose reign ended in 438, persuaded the Indian King Shangul to send him 12,000 minstrels, believed to be the very first Roma to leave India¹⁹². The Persian national epic,



Firdawsi's *Book of Kings* completed in 1010, repeats the same account¹⁹³. Indeed, Fraser asserts: "the number of Persian elements in the dialects of European Gypsies points to a somewhat prolonged stay"¹⁹⁴. From Persia, these early pathfinders wandered into Armenia, Syria and Turkey. The first record of Roma in Constantinople comes from a Georgian hagiographical text from 1068 that records the Emperor Constantine Monomachus, in 1050, enlisting the help of the Adsincani, famous for soothsaying and sorcery, to clear one of the city's parks of wild animals¹⁹⁵.

By the 14th century, Roma were living on the Greek islands and in 1444, on the mainland itself. By the end of the century, they were living in the Balkans. By the 15th century, groups of Roma had reached Germany, Switzerland, the Low Countries, France, Italy and Spain. But, by around the mid 15th century, attitudes towards Roma were deteriorating. Alms, initially collected and offered to them as gifts, became less and less generous and eventually became inducements for them to simply go away. Also, they began to be refused entry into some cities and towns and were forcibly removed from others. In 15th century Europe, the Roma people were considered outlandish and very dark skinned, males having unusually long hair and beards, females wearing cloths wrapped around their heads like turbans and large silver rings in their ears. In 1499, Spain offered its Roma population an ultimatum either to settle down or leave the country within 60 days. Thereafter, the penalty for itinerants was enslavement. In Wallachia and Moldavia, two of the three principalities that make up present day Romania, most of Europe's Roma were enslaved for 400 years beginning in the mid 15th century and ending in 1856¹⁹⁶.

There was much greater acceptance of wandering Roma in Hungary in the 15th and 16th centuries where they were renowned for metal-working and the manufacture and repair of weapons or as musicians. Similarly, those Roma living under Ottoman rule enjoyed much greater tolerance than those living in Christian Europe¹⁹⁷. Martin Luther, leading figure in the Protestant Reformation, in 1528 warned against the knavish tricks of vagrants such as "Gypsies"¹⁹⁷. European art, in the 16th century, regularly type-cast Roma women as reading palms, while an attendant child stole from the client's purse. On the stage, fictional Roma characters were usually portrayed as witches, tricksters, lock-pickers or thieves. Written in 1522 by the German archivist Johann Thurmaier, the *Bavarian Chronicle* describes Roma as "at this time (1439), that thievish race of men, the dregs and bilgewater of various peoples"¹⁹⁹.

In a superstitious Europe of the Middle Ages (5th-15th centuries), Roma successfully modelled themselves as pilgrims from Egypt (hence the name Gypsies) and fortune tellers. By securing letters of safe passage from the Roman Emperor and later on from the Pope, Roma migrants were able to pose as Christian devotees while securing donations from the communities they passed through. However, following the Reformation of the 16th century, the authority of Papal briefs across a great deal of Europe lost much of their authority and with them the perceived virtues of pilgrimage declined. As the Franciscan idealisation of poverty diminished, attitudes towards begging hardened.

The Roma population in Germany was expelled in 1500 for the alleged crime of espionage. All documents declaring safe passage for Roma throughout the Holy Roman Empire were deemed null and void in 1551. Roma were banished from the kingdom of France in 1510 and again in 1561. Those who failed to leave faced 3 years imprisonment. They were banned from the Swiss Confederation in 1510, from Portugal in 1538 and given 3 months to leave Denmark in 1536 and again in 1554. In response to ever harsher, discriminatory laws, large Roma bands made themselves less conspicuous by breaking up into smaller groups. Many of these groups gravitated to places with convenient borders over which they could flee if necessary. Some accepted the inevitable and began sedentary lives. Others moved to ever more isolated wastelands, forests and mountains²⁰⁰.

The first record of a Roma presence in Britain dates from a 1505 payment of ten French crowns at Stirling in Scotland by King James IV possibly for the service of entertainment²⁰¹. At around the

same time, the first recorded Roma in England was a woman lodging in Lambeth, South London “who could tell marvellous things simply by looking into a person’s hand”²⁰². Roma were banished from England in 1530 and from Scotland in 1541. Queen Elizabeth’s Act of 1562 ordered wandering Roma to be hanged. The 1572 Act for the Punishment of Vagabonds ordered the whipping and “burning through the gristle of the right ear” rogues, vagabonds and sturdy beggars. A similar act was passed in Scotland two years later.

It is worth noting that before Roma entered the British Isles, another itinerant group, Irish Travellers, known as Tinkers, wandered around Ireland and the British Isles, pursuing similar trades and nomadic ways of life. Similar non-Roma Traveller groups have also been identified throughout Europe. For example, in modern day Germany and parts of France, an 800 year old tradition sees young tradesmen, especially carpenters, traditionally dressed in black corduroy suits with flared trousers and wide brimmed hats, travel from place to place for 3 years and a day in order to perfect their skills after the completion of their apprenticeship.

In 1619, Spain ordered the expulsion of its Roma population under pain of death except if they abandoned their nomadic way of life and manner of dress. Roma hunts were organised following which male captives were reduced to slavery or given a 6-8 year term on the galleys of Spanish ships. Roma women were lashed 100 times and banished from the kingdom. In 1749, Spanish soldiers rounded up between 9,000 and 12,000 Roma and forced them into penal colonies for up to 10 years constructing naval yards, arsenals and fortifications for the Crown. From 1674, Portugal began sending Roma women to its colonies in Africa, later to Brazil and India, and males to serve on the galleys. Other European governments followed suit and banished its “undesirables” including Roma, overseas.

Warning signs, threatening Roma with flogging or hanging, began appearing at entry points to Germany and the Netherlands around the beginning of the 18th century. In 1721, Emperor Charles VI ordered Roma to be exterminated throughout the entire Holy Roman Empire. The second Prussian king Frederick Williams I ordered the hanging of both male and female Roma in 1734. Around the same time, Roma groups also started to face more difficult economic challenges as the Industrial Revolution gathered pace across Europe. As mechanisation took over a greater burden of the workload, there was less demand for manual harvesting and hawking and repairing became dwindling trades as more and more machine-made and cheaper, disposable goods became available.

From the 18th century onwards, a barrage of racist articles about Roma were published. Among these, the Chambers Cyclopaedia (1728) described “Gypsies” as “a counterfeit kind of rogues who abuse the common people, trick them of their money, and steal all that is not too hot, or too heavy for them”²⁰³. The German Universal Dictionary of All Sciences and Arts (1749) labelled Gypsies as “at all times godless, wicked people who are harried with complete justification”²⁰⁴. In 1871, the English naturalist and geologist Charles Darwin wrote that Gypsies, along with Jews, were not “culturally advanced”²⁰⁵. The physician and Criminologist Cesare Lombroso (1835-1909), in his widely read work “Criminal Man” (1876) wrote that Gypsies were violent and licentious, consumers of carrion and suspected cannibals²⁰⁶. Chief of Police in the German Kingdom of Bavaria Alfred Dillmann, in his 1905 “Gypsy Book”, set out details of how best authorities could eradicate what he called the “Gypsy plague”²⁰⁷. The Encyclopaedia Britannica described Gypsies as “liars” and “parasites” in 1911 and Gypsy adults as having the mental age of “about that of a child of ten” in its 1956 edition²⁰⁸.

Roma were vilified and persecuted wherever they went in Europe. However, in Germany, their precarious situation was set to get much worse. In his 1920 book, "The Eradication of Lives Undeserving of Life", German psychiatrist Karl Binding identified three groups as "unworthy of life". Among these, the "incurably mentally ill", a category into which he included the entire Roma people, were recommended for euthanasia. Roma were forbidden to enter German parks and public baths in 1920. In 1925, all Roma had to register with the police and unemployed males were sent off to labour camps. Roma were required to carry photo identification cards from 1927. The Nuremberg Laws of 1935 forbade intermarriage between Germans and "non-Aryans", especially Roma, Jews and Black peoples. Along with Jews, Roma became second class citizens in 1937 and subsequently stripped of their civil rights. In 1937, Nazi Party spokesman Georg Nawrocki criticised the Weimar Republic for not adequately dealing with what he termed the "Gypsy question". Similar to Jews, Roma were designated an "alien race" whose existence in Germany was believed to pose an immediate danger to the supposed racial purity of German people. Two years later, Dr Johannes Behrendt of the Office of Racial Hygiene, classified all Roma as "hereditarily sick", a "defective element of the population", and proposed "elimination" as the only viable solution²⁰⁹. In 1942, Heinrich Himmler (1900-1945), one of the leading members of the ruling Nazi Party, ordered the transfer of all Roma in Nazi occupied territories to concentration camps. Work intensified to identify and categorise Roma, to round them up in Germany and throughout Nazi controlled Europe and send them to the labour camps or death camps. Both Jews and Roma were declared "racially inferior" and enemies of the "race-based state". Half a million Roma were murdered during the holocaust or *porraimos* (the devouring)²¹⁰.

While the Nazi government of Germany murdered certain groups of people because of their belief, actions or status, for example political and religious opponents, resistance fighters, the elite of conquered countries and homosexuals, Roma, Jews and the handicapped were killed because they existed. Those Roma who survived the Nazi genocide were, like surviving Jews, left physically scarred and psychologically traumatised. Fraser adds that "those who were liberated from the camps were often left stranded as displaced or stateless persons, subject to all kinds of red tape and special restrictions"²¹¹. Furthermore, Roma moving around in Western Europe after the end of the 2nd World War soon found themselves at odds with a steadily increasing capitalist scramble for land ownership. Roma were forced to keep on the move except if they came upon unwanted (usually unsanitary) land such as rubbish sites.

During the Cold War (1947-1991), the majority of Europe's Roma population lived in the Communist east where they, more or less, enjoyed a degree of protection and assistance from the State²¹². However, all able-bodied citizens were obliged to register for work on a co-operative which made it difficult for Roma to follow their preferred entrepreneurial activities. Then, Nomadism was outlawed in the Soviet Union in 1956. After the end of the Cold War (1991), many Roma joined the wave of east-west migrations.

In Britain, The Caravan Sites Act of 1968 obliged local authorities in England and Wales to provide designated camp-sites for Travellers. The act was later repealed in 1994 and, in the same year, the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act criminalised stopping and travelling in any practical form.

So, around a thousand or more years ago, Roma left northwest India and embarked upon a century's long period of western movement. Since then, their history has been one long, continuous narrative of harassment and maltreatment, especially throughout Christian Europe where they have suffered frequent mob attacks, lynchings, burnings, genocide, forced sterilisation, and 400 years of slavery. Like Jews, Roma have wandered stateless among largely hostile peoples and yet, against all the

odds, they too have still managed to hang on to a shared social and cultural identity, sharply distinct from those around them. Unlike Jews, however, Roma have had no promised land to aspire towards, no priestly class, and no religious texts to keep them together. Valeriu Nicolae, founder and president of the Policy Centre for Roma and Minorities in Bucharest, states that even today “the Roma are perceived as foreigners and are demonized and dehumanized by the rest of the population both in their own countries and across Europe”²¹³. In a damning report, “Is England Fairer” (2016), the UK’s Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) highlighted that Roma are among the most disadvantaged in Britain and face multi-layered discrimination in education, health, employment, the justice system and across the tabloid media²¹⁴.

Why have Roma been so widely maligned and oppressed? No doubt, much of this persecution stems from settled people’s inability to tolerate nomadic ways of life. Many myths exist around Roma. None more romanticised than that of the aimlessly wandering, free nomad. Roma have often been viewed nostalgically as the last remnants of a vanishing pre-industrialised world. In fact, most Roma, especially in Eastern Europe have been sedentary for centuries²¹⁵. That western European Roma have tended to be more mobile than those from Eastern Europe is explained, not by some innate desire to wander endlessly, but by the centuries of laws passed to keep them moving from place to place. In response, these groups in particular developed professions that were best suited for nomadic ways of life which soon became established family professions²¹⁶. In some cases, it is these very handed down occupations that keep some Roma groups on the move today.

Nomadic ways of life are widely viewed as outlandish and an affront to the perceived sanctity of property ownership. Robbie McVeigh, Researcher at the Centre for Research and Documentation in Belfast, is of the opinion that “the political and cultural resistance of nomads continues to subvert deep-seated beliefs about the normalcy of settlement and wage labour and private property which pervade the whole of sedentary society”²¹⁷. He defines “sedentarism” as an ideology focused and determined to normalise sedentary modes of living while at the same time actively encouraging the oppression of nomadic ways of life²¹⁸. McVeigh goes on to point out that, in spite of all the practical difficulties of living on the move within predominantly settled societies, the survival and resilience of nomadic groups such as Roma, Irish Travellers, the Maasai in Africa and the Bedouin in the Middle East, to name just a few, poses a direct challenge to the presumed benefits and supremacy of living in one place for an extended period²¹⁹.

Indeed, the nomadic way of life, if seen as a counterculture to sedentarism, confronts and defies capitalist interests. A population is more malleable while its members are rooted to a home and even easier to manage when reliant on wage labour to meet mortgage repayments and other housing expenses. This certainly makes Roma a target for the establishment who would much prefer this section of the population fall in line with the rest of society and join the wage labour market. Governments also regularly shift the blame for social problems and economic downturns from themselves, where such blame ought to rest, to the poorest members of society and minority groups including Roma, by encouraging the relative negative attitudes and stereotypes among their majority populations.

Fonseca argues that “Gypsies are attracted not so much by the nomadic way of life as by the rejection of authority and the lack of discipline and subordination”²²⁰. Indeed, the legal controls and social taboos that inevitably arise and inhibit people who have lived with their neighbours for a long period, or intend to live with their neighbours for a long period, are much less powerful a deterrent for those merely passing through communities and less inclined to care what their neighbours think. Judith Okely, Emeritus Professor of Anthropology at the University of Oxford, writes that settled

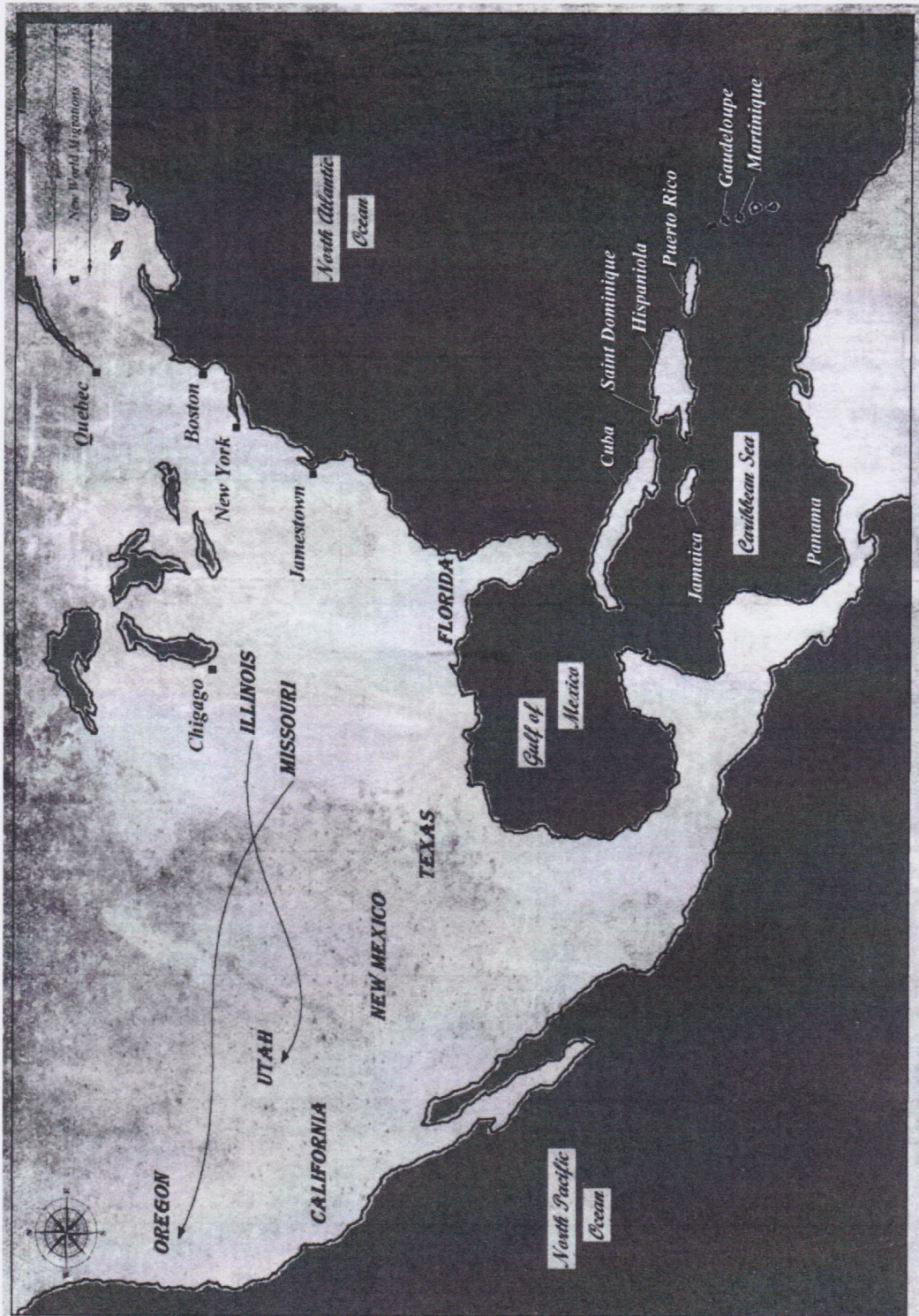
communities understand, admire and yearn for this sense of lawlessness: "Outsiders have projected onto Gypsies their own repressed fantasies and longings for disorder"²²¹.

Added to this, there is a widespread sense of wonder and romanticism attached to Roma's seemingly carefree and exciting existence as compared to the monotony of settled life. But, crucially, these feelings can quickly turn sour and change to envy and resentment and ultimately trigger a physical backlash. Dublin based researcher and translator Sinead ni Shuinear explains that nomads thereafter act as a projection-screen for the hate and fears settled people have within themselves²²². Those positive attributes Roma are seen to possess can be simultaneously viewed negatively and used to justify their oppression. For instance, a lack of possessions, instead of appearing virtuous or a sign of contentment, can seem dangerous because "Roma have little or nothing to lose". Having no state of their own, and seemingly no interest in acquiring one, can raise suspicions of Roma involvement in espionage, an "enemy within", especially in times of war or national insecurity. Roma's seeming allegiance to no group of people over another, except perhaps among themselves, is not seen as keeping out of trouble but exclusionary and disloyal. For the most part, Roma have indeed tried to keep themselves to themselves and discouraged close social relationships with non-Roma (*gadje*) populations. This exclusionary or separatist part of Roma culture has heightened suspicions and given credence to notions of Roma criminality. Hancock suggests that the tendency for Roma to live apart from their host populations may stem all the way back to the caste system in their ancestral homeland, India, over a thousand years ago²²³.

4. New World Migrations

Portugal was the first European nation to expand its frontiers beyond the continent and into Africa, the primary purpose of which was to break the Muslim stranglehold on trade routes from Europe to Asia. Madeira, off the north-west coast of Africa, was "discovered" in 1419 and soon after colonised; the Azores in 1427 and the Cape Verde Islands in 1456²²⁴. Sugar plantations were established and worked by enslaved Africans from the West African "Gold Coast" from 1470 onwards²²⁵. The strategically important Elmina Castle, on the southern coast of modern day Ghana, was built in 1482. By 1488, Portuguese ships had rounded the southernmost tip of Africa and were exploring the Indian Ocean. Across the Atlantic, Brazil was claimed in 1500. Gold mines, as well as sugar and tobacco plantations, were set up and Portuguese settlers and convicts began arriving in the 1530s. Due to the extremely harsh working conditions and high mortality rates on plantations, indigenous slaves and later on enslaved Africans were always in extremely high demand as labourers. From 1500 until 1888, almost 4 million enslaved Africans would arrive at the Bay of Rio de Janeiro²²⁶. By the 1580s, Portugal had set up a chain of colonies and trading ports from Lisbon all the way to Japan including Elmina and Luanda (Angola) on the west coast of Africa, Mozambique and Mombasa on the east coast, Bahrain in the Strait of Hormuz, Bombay and Goa on the west coast of India, Colombo in Sri Lanka, Malacca in Malaysia, and Macao in China²²⁷.

Following swiftly on from Christopher Columbus' (c.1450-1506) so called "discovery" of the Americas in 1492, Spanish conquistadors colonised Hispaniola in 1496, Cuba, Puerto Rico and Jamaica by 1518 and Panama in 1519. By 1524, Spain had conquered the Aztec empire in Mexico and the Inca Empire of Peru by 1535. Buenos Aires was founded the following year in 1536²²⁸. By the 1550s, nearly all of South America had been claimed for Spain²²⁹. Meanwhile, indigenous populations were being decimated at a staggering rate, both as a result of conquest and their exposure to European diseases (small pox, influenza and measles) for which they had little or no natural immunity. Death rates were so high that, from around 1510, Spanish settlers began to import



small numbers of Africans, licensed from Portuguese ships, to work as slaves, mainly in the gold and silver mines²³⁰. According to the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, just over 1 million enslaved Africans were brought to Spanish America altogether²³¹, although the Chilean writer and historian Rolando Mellafe suggests the figure could have been as high as 3 million²³². Wave after wave of Spanish migrants followed the conquistadors. Around 200,000 Spanish settlers arrived in the Americas during the 16th century²³³. Between 1500 and 1800, around 700,000 Spanish migrants crossed the Atlantic²³⁴. Spanish settlers introduced wheat cultivation to the Americas in the 1540s, grapes for wine making in 1551 and olive groves for oil production in the late 16th century. Sugar cane plantations were established throughout the Tropical areas. Cattle and sheep, horses and mules were introduced in the same period. Potatoes, sweet potatoes, maize, chilli peppers, tomatoes, cocoa and pineapples were brought back to Europe²³⁵. By the mid 18th century, Spain had colonised as far north as present day California, New Mexico, Texas, Florida and Cuba, in addition to most of Central America and around half of South America.

Permanent French settlements were established from the 17th century onwards including Quebec in 1608, Martinique in 1635, Saint Dominique, the most profitable sugar island in the Caribbean, in 1664, and Guadeloupe in 1674. The American historian Eric Foner asserts: "New France and New Netherland were primarily commercial ventures that never attracted large numbers of settlers"²³⁶. Instead, both these country's empires depended more heavily on diplomacy and the cooperation of indigenous populations for trade and security.

The Genoese navigator and explorer John Cabot (c.1450-1499) arrived in North America, under the commission of King Henry VII, in 1497 and claimed the entire continent for England. The first English colony was founded in Jamestown, Virginia in 1607. By the end of the 17th century, England had 14 colonies on the mainland, 9 Caribbean islands, a number of trading posts on the West African coast and a presence in India. By 1700, over 400,000 English emigrants lived in North America and 40,000 in the Caribbean²³⁷, fuelled in large part by a population boom back in England, from 3 to 4 million in the 2nd half of the 16th century²³⁸ and worsening economic conditions caused by the enclosure movement. Mass internal movement from England's rural areas to the cities led to a sharp fall in wages and living standards for many English workers. These were England's "surplus population", as Foner describes them²³⁹, forced to undertake a hazardous voyage across the Atlantic Ocean in the hope of a better life. Usually, this meant fulfilling a contracted period of between 5 to 7 years indentured labour on arrival. Migration to British America from England decreased during the first half of the 18th century as the British government feared labour shortages at home. During the American Revolution, between 1765 and 1783, colonists overthrew British rule in its 13 North American colonies and founded an independent United States of America.

Mass migration to North America, overwhelmingly from Europe, occurred throughout the 19th century up until the beginning of the 1st World War, including most notably from Britain, Ireland, Italy, Russia and China. Altogether, 150,000 arrived in the 1820s rising to 600,000 in the 1830s, 1.7 million in the 1840s and 2.3 million in the 1850s²⁴⁰. Over half of these numbers were British and Irish, a third German²⁴¹. Jews, predominantly from Eastern Europe, formed the fourth largest emigrant group.

Over the course of the 19th century, Europe's population doubled in size from 200 to 400 million²⁴², while medical and nutritional advances caused a sharp decline in mortality rates. Land soon became scarce and in rural areas, employment opportunities worsened as technological advances reduced the demands for labour. The Industrial Revolution, which rapidly transformed manufacturing in Britain and across Europe, introduced new trends of employment, especially in the textile, iron, and pottery industries. Factories were located in urban centres that soon became overpopulated. Living conditions deteriorated. Working conditions in the factories, mills and mines were atrocious.

Industrial jobs were dangerous, repetitive and involved long hours while their specialisation and the division of labour removed all meaning of work. These are understood to be some of the major incentives for driving many Europeans to risk the long voyage across the Atlantic and seek out a better life in the Americas. Many Jews, Catholics, Puritans, Presbyterians, Lutherans and Quakers left Europe to escape religious persecution.

In the 1840s, the Great Famine in Ireland caused the deaths or emigration of more than 2 million people, a quarter of the entire population²⁴³. Over a six year period, between 500,000 and 1 million people starved to death²⁴⁴. Haywood declares: "The British government did little to save the Irish from starvation"²⁴⁵. Many of those who were able to emigrate, crossed the Atlantic on the notoriously overcrowded and poorly maintained "coffin ships" and settled in the US cities of New York, Boston and Chicago among others. Altogether, around 7.3 million people left Ireland between 1815 and 1930, most heading for North America²⁴⁶. King notes: "Ireland became the only country in modern history to see its population decline"²⁴⁷.

Most of those heading to America from Germany were small farmers, artisans and unskilled labourers from the valley of the River Rhine in search of a better life, cheap land and religious tolerance²⁴⁸. During the 18th century, 84,500 German migrants settled in the British North American colonies, the third largest group after African and Irish arrivals²⁴⁹. During the same period, millions of Germans migrated east into what is now Austria, Hungary and Russia²⁵⁰. Germans made up the largest group of immigrants into the United States during the 19th century, reaching peaks between 1845 and 1854 of 1 million and during the 1880s of 1.5 million²⁵¹.

Throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, America witnessed an influx of Italians, mostly from the economically deprived, rural south of the country. Poverty, high taxation and crop diseases were the main motivators²⁵². By the 1870s, The Italian-American population reached a quarter of a million²⁵³, rising to 4 million by 1920²⁵⁴. However, many Italian emigrants, between one half and three quarters²⁵⁵, stayed in America only for a few years before returning back to Italy again.

Altogether, around 24 million immigrants came to the United States between 1965 and 2000. Half of these were from Latin America and the Caribbean, 35% from Asia and only 10% from Europe²⁵⁶. Out of a total US population of 309 million in 2010, 223 million (72%) were white, 50 million (16%) were Hispanic or Latino, 39 million (13%) were Black or African American, and 15 million (5%) were Asian²⁵⁷. Compared with the 2000 census, the percentage of the overall population reported as White decreased by 2.7%, Hispanics or Latinos increased by 3.8%, Black or African Americans increased by 0.3%, and Asians increased by 1.2%²⁵⁸. The number of people of Hispanic origin living in the United States in 2014 was 55 million, making them the second largest ethnic group²⁵⁹.

During the first half of the 19th century, as the eastern states of America became more densely populated, settlers began moving west where land was cheaper and more plentiful. One of the most famous and well-trodden routes from the eastern to the western United States was the Oregon Trail beginning at the River Missouri, stretching 2,170 miles and ending at the Oregon Valleys. Between 1832-83, around 80,000 settlers used the route²⁶⁰. Between 1846-69, around 70,000 Mormons began their "Great Migration" across the USA from Illinois, searching for and finding their "Promised Land" in Salt Lake City, Utah. The California gold rush of 1848-53 spurred 100,000 prospectors to move west²⁶¹. Altogether, this mass movement of colonists from the eastern states of America into the Wild West, as it became known, precipitated a major expansion in lands available for settlement. It also resulted in the decimation of indigenous peoples.

The pre-Columbus population of the Americas is estimated to have been somewhere in the region of 54 million²⁶², while the population of Europe, including Russia, is estimated to have been around 90 million²⁶³. Professor of History at the University of Rochester Joseph Inikori states: "The pre-Columbus populations of the Americas were almost totally wiped out a few decades after European colonization. Central Mexico, the most densely populated region of the Americas before European conquest, provides a good illustration. Its pre-conquest population (about 1519), estimated to be between 18.8 million and 26.3 million, fell to 6.3 million by 1548 and to 1.9 million in 1580. By 1605, it was down to about 1.1 million"²⁶⁴. Foner calls it "the greatest population catastrophe in human history"²⁶⁵.

The onslaught of infectious diseases from Europe including influenza, smallpox, and measles, to which indigenous Americans had no prior exposure or resistance, conflict and war with European settlers, biological warfare, atrocities, starvation, enslavement, and displacement, all contributed to the near total annihilation of indigenous Americans. The biggest cause of death was disease. In some cases, diseases were deliberately transferred to indigenous Americans. For example, during the Seven Years War (1754–1763), British militia gave blankets infected with smallpox as gifts to dignitaries of the neutral Lenape tribe²⁶⁶. In 2000, the Federal Bureau of Indian Affairs, formally apologised for the part it played in the eradication of indigenous peoples: "It must be acknowledged that the deliberate spread of disease, the decimation of the mighty bison herds, the use of the poison alcohol to destroy mind and body, and the cowardly killing of women and children made for tragedy on a scale so ghastly that it cannot be dismissed as merely the inevitable consequence of the clash of competing ways of life"²⁶⁷.

From the 1490s until the 1880s, the massively outnumbered²⁶⁸ and outgunned indigenous tribes fought bravely against millions of European invaders in a desperate bid to save their lands. It was hopeless. Between 1860 and 1890, the last stand of the once mighty indigenous peoples of the Americas was utterly crushed. For four hundred years, they had been hunted, starved into submission²⁶⁹ and in many cases driven to the point of extinction.

Why were those pioneering American Europeans so utterly opposed to indigenous peoples? Because they were determined to possess, by any means necessary, more and more land for settlement. In the end, they managed to take possession of each and every tract of land deemed fertile or valuable. Millions of less well-armed indigenous Americans were systematically dispossessed of their hunting and fishing grounds and forcibly relocated onto reservations. Reservations were autonomous tracts of usually worthless land, unsuited for agriculture, managed by tribal leaders and overseen by the federal government agency the US Bureau of Indian Affairs. The setting up of reservations began in earnest after the Indian Removal Act of 1830. As the designated reservations were clearly unsuitable to meet the needs of their inhabitants, and because they were strictly forbidden to leave, even to hunt for game, treaty agreements usually stipulated the payment in cash and/or provisions to the signatories to be distributed to their peoples. But rations were rarely enough. The American novelist and historian Dee Brown writes that entrepreneurs made fortunes by funnelling off funds meant for reservations²⁷⁰ or plundering or supplying low grade provisions. Since then until the present, these lands, still called reservations, have been much further reduced in size and frequently encroached upon by settlers, ranchers, miners, timber producers, agriculturalists, dam builders, and oil companies.

Experts at negotiating lands away from indigenous Americans were initially sent to tribal leaders with poorly translated peace treaties that were reluctantly signed, largely under duress. And yet,

tribal chiefs generally didn't value their ancestral lands in monetary terms. Crazy Horse (c. 1842–1877), war leader of the Oglala Lakota, famously said: "One does not sell the earth upon which the people walk"²⁷¹. Ten Bears (c. 1790–1872), principle chief of the Yamparika Comanches, protested: "You said that you wanted to put us on a reservation, to build us houses and make us medicine lodges. I do not want them. I was born on the prairie, where the wind blew free and there was nothing to break the light of the sun. I was born where there were no enclosures and where everything drew a free breath. I want to die there and not within walls"²⁷².

In 2010, out of a total US population of 308 million, just 1.2% were "American Indian" or "Alaskan Native"²⁷³. Out of almost 3 million people who identified themselves as "American Indian" or "Alaskan Native" in 2010²⁷⁴, 1 million still live on reservations²⁷⁵. These are the remnants of the once proud and free peoples of America including the Apaches, Comanches, Sioux, Cheyennes, Navahos, Huron, Cherokee, Shawnee, Arapaho, Chickasaw among many, many others.

Indigenous Americans were captured, enslaved and put to work on sugar, tobacco or cotton plantations and in mines but were soon found to be susceptible to European diseases. Enslaved Africans, on the other hand, were discovered to possess much stronger natural immunity for warding off small pox, influenza etc as well as being already used to agricultural work in tropical climates. Foner adds: "With the Indian population having been wiped out by disease, and with the white indentured servants unwilling to do the back-breaking monotonous work of sugar cultivation, the massive importation of slaves from Africa began"²⁷⁶.

However, living conditions were extremely poor in the colonial dungeons on the African coast, on the plantations in the Americas and especially on board the Atlantic slavers during the Middle Passage. The fact that death rates were so high at every stage of the journey from captivity in Africa to enslavement in the Americas demonstrates the extremely low value capitalist slave owners gave their possessions. Haywood points out that the "average life expectancy for an adult male field slave on a sugar plantation was as little as seven or eight years"²⁷⁷.

To replenish an ever depleting workforce, human trafficking was practiced on a scale never before or since witnessed. By 1600, 200,000 enslaved Africans had been transported to the Americas²⁷⁸. By the end of the 17th century, 1,870,000 Africans had been forcibly shipped across the Atlantic²⁷⁹. Another 6 million enslaved Africans arrived in the Americas between 1700 and 1806²⁸⁰. Altogether, it is estimated that over the four hundred year period of the Atlantic Slave Trade until 1888, Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, British, and French traders enslaved and transported some 12.5 million men, women and children from West and Central Africa to the New World²⁸¹. This represents the largest forced migration in history. According to the American historian and writer Herbert Klein, in the 6 centuries before the beginning of the Atlantic slave trade between 3.5 and 10 million enslaved Africans were sent north to the Mediterranean countries and east into Arabia²⁸².

All this was undertaken for the sake of profit and power. Initially, a simple triangular trading system spanned the Atlantic Ocean with ships journeying between the continents of Europe, Africa and the New World. These ships typically brought cheap manufactures from Europe to Africa and used them as barter to buy enslaved Africans who were resettled in the New World and forced to produce raw materials, which were then shipped back to Europe. Later on, a much more complex web of shipping routes developed that saw purpose built "slavers", cargo vessels and passenger ferries, sail back and forth from two or more ports in the Atlantic. Typically, British merchant ships would carry furs, fish, livestock and timber from the northern American colonies to the Caribbean and return with slaves and sugar. From these same ports, furs and fish were also shipped to Britain and

the same boats would return with manufactured goods. Boats from New York would carry rum, grain and timber to Europe and return with manufactures. Other ships from New York would journey to the Caribbean with livestock and timber and brought slaves and sugar back. Ships from the Norfolk and the Charlestown area ferried tobacco, rice, indigo and hides to Europe and headed back with manufactured goods. From the Caribbean, British ships usually brought molasses and fruit to the UK and returned with British produced commodities. From the same Caribbean ports rum was sent to Africa in return for enslaved Africans and gold²⁸³.

So it was that the European colonisation of the Americas, along with the Atlantic slave trading era, represents a historical period of immense wealth creation as well as merciless cruelty by European nations against both the indigenous peoples of the Americas and of Africa²⁸⁴.

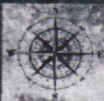
5. Immigration into Britain

At the archaeological site at Happisburgh in Norfolk, ancient flint tools belonging to the first known inhabitants of ancient Britain were unearthed, believed to be between 840,000 and 950,000 years old²⁸⁵. These early arrivals, called homo antecessor, would have entered on foot via the ancient land bridge, known as Doggerland, which connected ancient, south-east Britain to the continent of Europe. In 1993, a 500,000 year old human shin bone and two teeth said to belong to a large, robust, 40 year old male (homo heidelbergensis) were found under a gravel quarry in West Sussex at the archaeological site of Boxgrove²⁸⁶. These are the oldest human fossils found in Britain and among the most ancient yet to be discovered in Europe. At the site of Swanscombe in north-west Kent, two pieces of human skull fragments were discovered in 1935, identified as belonging to a young female (homo heidelbergensis), and dated to 400,000 years old²⁸⁷. At around this time, Britain's climate became considerably colder, forcing its population to migrate south into Europe. Seemingly, Britain remained unpopulated for more than 300,000 years²⁸⁸.

Cro-Magnon Man inhabited ancient Britain around 33,000 years ago, alongside Neanderthals for a time until the latter died out, as is evidenced by the early modern human remains discovered at Paviland Cave on the Gower peninsula in South Wales in 1823²⁸⁹. Another Ice Age crept over Britain around 20,000 years ago²⁹⁰. From around 14,000 years ago, southern Britain was populated again²⁹¹. Cave art engravings, some dated at around 13,000 years old²⁹², depicting deer, birds, horse and other stylised motifs have been discovered and preserved at multiple locations at Creswell Crags, a limestone gorge honeycombed with caves in Derbyshire. These natural shelters were occupied by Neanderthals as long ago as 60,000-40,000 years ago judging by the stone tools discovered there and, later on, seasonally by small groups of late Magdalenian hunters, between 14,000-13,000 years ago, as they tracked migrating mammoths.

At about this time, 13,000 years ago, ice advanced yet again to cover ancient Britain for a period, known as the "Big Freeze", lasting 2,000 years²⁹³. As the ice receded, new arrivals began settling in southern Britain, around 11,000 years ago²⁹⁴. In 1993, the oldest complete human skeleton, around 9,000 years old, was discovered at Gough's Cave in Cheddar Gorge, Somerset. The ancient land bridge that joined Britain onto Europe was destroyed and flooded by a massive tsunami and Britain became an island for the first time around 6,500-6,200BC²⁹⁵. From around 4,500BC, boats carrying migrants from Europe started arriving on Britain's shores²⁹⁶. Farming was first established in Britain around 4,000BC²⁹⁷.

Immigration into Britain



North Sea

Isle of Man

Hadrian's Wall

York

Bradford

Manchester

Liverpool

Creswell Crags

Happisburgh

Leicester

Birmingham

Fairford

Paviland Cave

Bristol

London

Gough's Cave

Swanscombe

Stonehenge

Boxgrove

Hastings

Pevensy

Torbay

English Channel



The Bell Beaker People, credited with introducing metalworking and the Bronze Age into Britain, migrated from Europe into southern England around 2,500BC²⁹⁸. They are said to have spread the indo-European language group throughout Europe, built Stonehenge²⁹⁹ and pioneered the funerary practice of burying the dead in single as opposed to communal graves³⁰⁰.

In 55BC, Julius Caesar (100-44BC) successfully led the first Roman conquest of Britannia³⁰¹, but swiftly returned his troops back to fight the Gauls on mainland Europe, leaving client kings in charge³⁰². Almost 100 years later, in 43AD, a second Roman invasion, headed by Emperor Claudius (10BC-54AD)³⁰³ again subdued south-east Britain. On this occasion, a large Roman garrison was installed and southern Britannia was gradually remodelled, over the following four centuries, in the shape of Roman Britain. Legionaries were followed by engineers. Forts, and then towns, cities, monumental buildings and 10,000 miles³⁰⁴ of straight, paved roads were built. The Romans also brought coinage, numeracy, literacy, the Latin language and Christianity into Britain. They introduced central heating, indoor plumbing and sewage systems. Oliver explains: "Ancient, pre-Roman Britain had evolved on its own over thousands of years, but within just a couple of centuries a substantial part of the country had been reshaped in the image of a far away land"³⁰⁵. The English author and historian Philip Wilkinson points out: "Central heating and siege weapons, bridges and fire engines, frescos and fast food...were all introduced to Britain more than 2000 years ago by the Romans"³⁰⁶.

Roman rule in Britain came to an end in the early 5th century AD. Around this time until the early 7th century, large numbers of Anglo-Saxons, a group of Germanic tribes living off the North Sea coast, invaded Britain and settled in many areas of the south and west. Throughout much of Britain during this time and up until c.1100AD, Latin and Celtic were replaced by the language of the Anglo-Saxons, Old English, recognised to be the earliest form of the English language. Roman built towns and cities were largely abandoned in favour of agrarian lifestyles. Robert Tombs, the British historian and professor of French history at St. John's College, Cambridge, points out that: "The Saxons were powerful enough to eradicate Roman law and culture, including Christianity, and to impose new beliefs, customs and above all a new language – proof that the change had been a cultural cataclysm"³⁰⁷.

In the 6th century AD, the Gaels from Ireland occupied parts of the north of Britain, Picts inhabited the east and north and Britons lived in the south³⁰⁸. In her 2014 book, "Picts, Gaels and Scots: Early Historic Scotland", the historian and author Sally M. Foster explains how, in around 900AD³⁰⁹, the Picts, a confederation of tribes living in what is now northern and eastern Scotland, amalgamated with the Gaels who were living on what is now eastern Scotland to forge the new nation of the Scots.

Tombs points out: "By around the year 600 the islands were highly diverse in language, in religion and in the origins of their inhabitants"³¹⁰. In 597AD, the Benedictine monk St. Augustine of Canterbury and his companions arrived in Kent, south east England, from Rome intent on Christianising the pagan king Aethelberht and his kingdom of Kent. Known as the "Apostle of the English", and considered founder of the English Church, he converted the king and large numbers of his subjects, 10,000 on Christmas Day, 597³¹¹. Augustine died in 604AD but a hundred years later, every English kingdom had adopted orthodox Roman Christianity.

From the late 8th to the mid 11th centuries, Viking armies (from Denmark and Norway) raided Britain, taking over Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and looting wealthy monasteries. Large areas of northern and western England fell under the jurisdiction of laws established by Danish invaders and settlers during the 9th and 10th centuries called Danelaw. Cnut the Great (c.995-1035), a Viking warrior descended from a long line of Danish kings, was himself crowned king of Denmark, Norway, part of Sweden and King of England from 1016 until his death in 1035. He put a stop to

Viking raids, united the English and Danish peoples and helped English trade to flourish. Tombs suggests: "The Scandinavian influx into the British Isles over the whole Viking period was probably greater than any other population movement until that of the late twentieth century"³¹². In 2009, Cambridge University hosted a 3-day conference encompassing over 20 studies that revealed how Viking settlers assimilated into the Anglo-Saxon and Celtic culture of the time (between the 9th to 13th centuries), lived harmoniously with their neighbours, swapped ideas, inter-married, and converted to Christianity³¹³. Dr. Ní Mhaonaigh, professor of Celtic and Medieval Studies at St. John's College, Cambridge, asserts: "Vikings were part of a much wider process of cultural cross-fertilisation that changed Britain and Ireland forever"³¹⁴.

The next major influx of migrants arriving in Britain came during the aftermath of the Norman conquest of England in 1066. Duke William II of Normandy, more commonly known as William the Conqueror, landed an army of possibly 10,000-12,000 Normans, descended from Vikings, and French soldiers³¹⁵ at Pevensey in Sussex and defeated King Harold at the Battle of Hastings on October 14 to become King William I of England until his death in 1087. During the Norman period, French and English cultures intermingled. Thousands of French colonists³¹⁶ crossed the Channel to settle in England. The Normans built numerous castles, including the Tower of London, Windsor Castle, Warwick Castle, and Leeds Castle, created jobs and new trade links. Towns expanded and exports (notably wool, minerals and foodstuffs) increased³¹⁷. Ports were developed and new ones built. The Normans also abolished slavery in Britain over a period of time³¹⁸ and introduced into Britain a new legal and political system known as feudalism. In 1085 or 1086, William I commissioned the Domesday Book, a written manuscript of the "Great Survey" and census of English lands detailing the ownership, extent and value of properties. Its main purpose was almost certainly to assess the king's income from his estates, his baron's estates and the potential amount of tax that could be raised to pay for William's vast army. Anglo-Saxon rulers were replaced by the new aristocracy of Frenchmen.

In 1688, Dutch born Prince William of Orange landed an enormous invasion army (four times larger than the Spanish Armada) of 463 ships, 5,000 horses and 20,000 soldiers³¹⁹ at Torbay on the south-west coast of England. He conquered Britain, almost without bloodshed in England but with much loss of life in Ireland and Scotland. William of Orange replaced the reigning Catholic king, James II, to become King William III of England, Scotland and Ireland from 1689 until his death in 1702. These events of 1688-89 became known as the "Glorious Revolution". The Bill of Rights, passed in 1689, ended the possibility of a Catholic monarchy. It also imposed significant limitations on royal authority, asserting the supremacy of parliament over the crown. For instance, Parliament gained significant powers over taxation and royal succession. Britain thus became a constitutional monarchy and parliamentary democracy. William's expensive wars in Europe, especially against his lifelong enemy Louis XIV of France, led to the growth of financial institutions including the Bank of England, founded in 1694. In the late 17th century, 50,000 French Protestants fled persecution to England³²⁰. Tombs points out: "By enrolling England in his anti-French alliance, he (William III) prevented France from dominating Europe, and in doing so set England on the road to becoming a great power"³²¹.

The three main groups of 19th century migrants into Britain were Germans, Jews and Irish³²². The first wave of Jewish immigration into Britain occurred at the end of the 11th century, in the wake of the 1066 Norman Conquest³²³, as a result of the pogroms being carried out in Europe. But, pogroms were occurring in England as well, the worst in 1190 in York which resulted in 150 deaths³²⁴. Then in 1290, Jews in England, numbering around 5,000 at the time³²⁵, were expelled and barred from entering the country until 1656. During the 2nd half of the 17th century, most Jews coming to Britain

were fleeing the Spanish Inquisition³²⁶. By 1800, between 20,000 and 30,000 Jews lived in England³²⁷. Anti-Semitism was still entrenched in British society, but to a lesser extent than in Europe³²⁸. During the 19th century, around 10,000 Jews from Germany came to live in Britain³²⁹ and between 1880 and 1914, around 150,000 Jews entered Britain fleeing anti-Semitism in Russia³³⁰. Another 78,000 entered Britain in the 1930s fleeing Nazi anti-Semitism³³¹. In 2011, British Jews numbered just over 260,000, two-thirds of whom lived in London³³².

For the last 900 years, the Irish have made up by far the single largest migratory group in Britain³³³. The first influx of Irish settlers into Britain occurred during the 12th century³³⁴. More than a quarter of a million Irish refugees entered Britain in the decade during and after the Famine of the 1840s and 1850s, most of whom settled in Liverpool³³⁵. Between 1800 and 1914, 1 million Irish settled in Britain³³⁶. Another 1 million have since arrived³³⁷ a large proportion of whom came in the 1950s³³⁸. In 2001, Irish born residents, numbering 473,000³³⁹ made up the largest immigrant group in England and Wales. The 2011 Census recorded 407,000 Irish born residents, the fourth largest immigrant group³⁴⁰. In 2006, the Guardian reported that around 6 million people living in the UK, or roughly 10% of the population, were Irish or had Irish ancestry, meaning they had at least one grandparent who was born on the island of Ireland³⁴¹.

Between 1800 and 1945, roughly 180,000 Germans moved to Britain³⁴², mostly settling in London. German immigrants filled a labour gap of foreign correspondence clerks between 1900 and 1914. Growing numbers of German bakers also settled in Britain up until 1914³⁴³. During both World Wars, Germans, along with Austrians and Italians living in the UK were considered "enemy aliens" and sent to internment camps set up mostly on the Isle of Man. Numbering over 260,000 (UK Census), Germans made up the 4th largest foreign born group living in the UK in 2001 after Irish, Indians and Pakistanis.

Until 1905, there were no restrictions on immigrants coming to live in Britain³⁴⁴. Then, the Aliens Act of 1905 introduced for the first time controls and registration, effectively barring entry for those who were deemed "undesirable immigrants". Panayi states that the 1905 Aliens Act's main aim was to stem the flow of poor eastern European Jews who were settling in London's East End³⁴⁵. The Manchester Evening Chronicle at the time wrote: "the dirty, destitute, diseased, verminous and criminal foreigner, who dumps himself on our soil and rates simultaneously, shall be forbidden to land"³⁴⁶.

Beginning in the 1950s and peaking in the 1960s and early 1970s, three significant groups of South Asians migrated to the UK: Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis. The 2011 UK Census recorded the total number of people identifying themselves as South Asians living in Britain in 2011 at 3 million³⁴⁷. UK locations with large South Asian communities include London, Birmingham, Leicester and Bradford³⁴⁸.

There were around 185,000 Asians with full British and Colonies passports living in Kenya after it gained independence from Britain in 1963³⁴⁹. But, faced with growing hostility and "increasingly unpleasant propaganda" within the majority indigenous population, and discriminatory laws preventing them from making a living, many decided to flee to Britain. In A History of Modern Britain, the British journalist and television presenter Andrew Marr, writes that the 1968 Commonwealth Immigrants Act "effectively slammed the door while leaving a cat flap open for a very small annual quota"³⁵⁰. In Uganda, President Idi Amin expelled 80,000 Asians in 1972, giving them 90 days to leave the country³⁵¹. Most immigrated to Britain, many became stateless.

Africans have been living in Britain, either continuously or at least at various different times, since the 2nd or 3rd century AD when a 500 strong unit of African soldiers is known to have patrolled Hadrian's Wall³⁵². Wealthy Africans lived in Britain and moved "in the highest social circles" during the first 4 centuries AD when the Romans ruled Britain³⁵³. In 2013, a 1,000 year old skeleton of a Sub-Saharan African woman, aged between 18 and 24 when she died, was discovered in Fairford, Gloucestershire³⁵⁴. During the Atlantic slave trade, West Africans were brought to Britain and again some climbed high up the social ladder³⁵⁵. In the 18th century, between 10,000 and 15,000 people of African descent lived in Britain, mostly based in London, Bristol and Liverpool³⁵⁶. Between the years 1951 and 1971 and 2001, the numbers of West Indians, mostly from Jamaica, in Britain rose from 17,000 to 304,000 and fell slightly to 250,000³⁵⁷. In 2011, 1.9 million people, or 3% of the population, self-reported their ethnicity as Black/African/Caribbean/Black British³⁵⁸, up from 1.1 million, or 2% of the population, in 2001. More than a half, just over 1 million, lived in London in 2011.

The first Chinese settlers in the UK were seamen living in the port cities of London and Liverpool at the beginning of the 19th century. Since the rise in popularity of Chinese restaurants around a quarter of a million Chinese immigrants, mostly male agricultural labourers from Hong Kong, have moved to Britain from the 1950s until 2010³⁵⁹. The largest group of immigrants coming to the UK in 2015 were Chinese³⁶⁰.

At the end of the 2nd World War, Poland became a part of the Soviet Union. Rather than live under communism, 145,000 Poles settled in Britain³⁶¹. According to The Encyclopaedia of Diasporas, around 20 million people claiming Polish ancestry lived outside their country of birth in 2001³⁶². In 2004, Britain opened its borders to Polish citizens after their country's joining the EU. As of 2015, 831,000 Polish born residents lived in the UK³⁶³ making Poland the most common country of birth for foreign born people living in the UK, above India, Pakistan, Ireland and Germany³⁶⁴.

Conclusion

The above describes how humankind gradually colonised the world from a single starting point in Africa and highlights some of the many, major movements/migrations that took place around the world since then. This raises a number of key issues. Above all, the human story stresses the relatedness of everybody on the planet. This has some perilous implications for all those who seek to divide people into nationalities or "races" and then pit one against the other in the form of nationalism, patriotism or racism. These imaginary distinctions between human beings must be exposed for the social constructs they are and understood as one of the main routes to inequality, injustice and suffering in the world.

For more than 150 years, a great debate has been raging within the scientific community with regards to the origins of humankind. Monogenists argue that all humans descend from the same source while polygenists judge that the physical differences between people reflect several, separate originating points for humankind.

The categorisation and then classification of human beings began in earnest in the 19th century when scientists started to group humanity into 3 or more "races" or species and, contrary to the then traditional, theological view of common human descent from Adam and Eve, forwarded explanations for their supposedly separate origins and independent evolution.

For instance, in 1864, the German scientist and philosopher Carl Vogt (1817-1895) was just one voice among many who stated that "Negro" and White people belong to different species³⁶⁵. James Hunt (1833-1869), founder of the Anthropological Society in London, agreed with Vogt³⁶⁶ and cast doubt on the shared evolutionary origin of "Negros" and Europeans³⁶⁷. The American physician and natural scientist Samuel George Morton (1799-1851) wrote: "Each Race was adapted from the beginning to its peculiar local destination"³⁶⁸. Josiah C. Nott (1804-1873), an American physician and surgeon, wrote "Zoologically, the races or species of mankind obey the same organic laws which govern other animals, they have their geographical points of origin and are adapted to certain external conditions that cannot be changed with impunity"³⁶⁹. The author John P. Jeffries wrote in 1869: "The human races have their geographical locations as well as the lower animals and where they thrive better than in any other locality"³⁷⁰.

Then in 1859, the English Naturalist and geologist Charles Darwin (1809-1882) published his theory of evolution in *On the Origin of Species* in which he reasoned that all species are descended from common ancestors through a process he called natural selection. In *The Descent of Man* (1889), Darwin reaffirmed his "single-origin hypothesis" in relation to humankind, arguing that human beings could not be divided into different species³⁷¹ but that the so-called "races of men" are descended from a "single primitive stock"³⁷². Darwin further argued that the physical differences between humans were caused not by climate or habitat but by sexual selection, driven by the competition for mates.

Louis Agassiz (1807-1873), the American biologist and geologist, opposed Darwin's theory throughout his life and wrote extensively on the alternative theory that human "races" came into being separately. Agassiz was a religious man, a creationist. He resolved these two seemingly irreconcilable viewpoints by declaring that God must have created the human "races", not at a single origin but in several different geographical locations and that the biblical story of Adam and Eve referred solely to the White "race". After Darwin's theory of evolution was published, most polygenists switched from creationist polygenism along the lines of Agassiz's theory to evolutionary polygenism, the view that different "races" evolved separately from different primates³⁷³.

Then in 1912, the sensational discovery of the "missing link" between humans and apes was claimed by British amateur archaeologist Charles Dawson (1864-1916) after unearthing skull fragments, a lower jaw bone and a set of teeth from Pleistocene gravel beds near Piltdown village in England, said to be 500,000 years old. According to the American palaeontologist and evolutionary biologist Stephen Jay Gould (1941-2002), Piltdown Man, as the fossils became known, strongly supported white supremacist notions of superiority by providing evidence of a very early modern human presence in England, and crucially, of a possible large-brained progenitor of the entire white "race" while other geographical groups seemingly traced their lineage back to the smaller-brained *homo erectus*³⁷⁴. In 1953, Piltdown Man was exposed as a forgery, composite of three distinct species: the skull of a small-brained medieval human, the jawbone of an orang-utan and the teeth (filed down to reflect a human diet) of a chimpanzee.

Between 1923-37, *homo erectus* fossils of 15 partial crania, 11 lower jaw bones, a large number of teeth and some skeletal bones were discovered in a cave in Zhoukoudian, near Beijing. At the time of its discovery, "Peking Man" was the earliest set of fossils, around 700,000 years old, as yet discovered anywhere in the world leading some to believe that the Chinese were the oldest and original people³⁷⁵. Based on his examination of Peking Man and its apparent likeness to modern Chinese facial characteristics, the German physical anthropologist and anatomist Franz

Weidenreich (1873-1948) maintained that modern human populations must have evolved separately from earlier homo species progenitors after they had lived for long periods in relatively isolated regions. He regarded Peking Man as one of the early ancestors of the modern Chinese people³⁷⁶. In 1963, Carlton S. Coon (1904-1981), an American physical anthropologist, similarly argued that early humans were essentially one species but that homo erectus divided into five geographical “sub-species” each one evolving at their own pace through different states from the brutal to the more sapient³⁷⁷.

The first claim, that China was the cradle of humankind, was soon debunked after much older human fossils were discovered in Africa. The second claim, that Peking Man represented an independent origin for East Asians was also shown to be false in 1998 after the Chinese geneticist Professor Jin Li discovered that the majority of gene pools in China originated in Africa³⁷⁸. Apparently, Peking Man was part of an extinct homo erectus group that was superseded by more modern homo sapiens from Africa, that no regional continuity had occurred, and that modern Chinese, like everyone else in the world, are traceable back to Africa.

In 1974, the Australian geologist Jim Bowler discovered the complete skeleton of a 40,000 year old anatomically modern human 760 km west of Sidney, Australia. In 2001, a study of the fossils, led by Professor Alan Thorne of the Australian National University at Canberra, concluded that “Mungo Man”, as the fossils were called, was 62,000 years old and that it’s DNA had no links with human ancestors from Africa but came from a lineage that is now extinct³⁷⁹. In other words, at least one group of homo erectus’ descendents seemed to have evolved into homo sapiens outside of Africa and these modern humans occupied Australia before the arrival of the Aborigines. Two years later however, a study led by the University of Melbourne fixed a more recent age of 40,000 years for Mungo Man³⁸⁰. Using second generation DNA sequencing methods in 2016, a team from Griffith University, Australia reanalysed genetic material taken from Mungo Man disproving the earlier study citing contamination of samples and found that the first Australians were indeed Aboriginal with origins in Africa like everyone else on the planet³⁸¹.

Archaeologists have unearthed an abundance of fossil evidence which supports the view that the area of land in East Africa which is now called Ethiopia was the cradle of humankind. In 1974, the American palaeontologist Donald Johanson discovered a 3 million year old fossilised skeleton of a twenty-year-old hominid female, whom he called Lucy, 100 miles northeast of the Ethiopian capital, at the small village of Hadar. At least seventeen other remains, more than one million years older than Lucy, have since been discovered on the banks of the River Awash³⁸².

In 1987, scientists from the University of California published “Mitochondrial DNA and Human Evolution” in the journal Nature Vol. 325 which examined the mtDNA taken from 147 individuals from 5 geographic populations and concluded that every person alive today can trace their lineage back to a single, common, female ancestor, called Mitochondrial Eve, who lived roughly 200,000 years ago in Africa. In 2007, researchers at the Department of Zoology at Cambridge University combined prior studies of global genetic variations in humans with the cranial measurements of more than 6,000 skulls from around the world and concluded “definitively” that modern humans originated from a single point in Africa³⁸³.

In an effort to map human migration patterns through history and better understand our shared genetic roots, the National Geographic Society in partnership with the American technology company IBM launched the Genographic Project in 2005 which gathered and analysed the historical patterns in DNA samples from over 180,000 participants from 140 countries. Leading

population geneticist and director of the project Spencer Wells wrote: "You and I, in fact everyone all over the world, we're literally African under the skin; brothers and sisters separated by a mere two thousand generations. Old-fashioned concepts of race are not only socially divisive, but scientifically wrong"³⁸⁴.

Despite the physical differences between people, all humans are almost the same possessing nearly identical DNA. The genetic differences both within and among populations, known as human genetic variation, is roughly 0.5%, meaning all humans are 99.5% the same as other humans³⁸⁵. In fact, there are greater differences among people belonging to the same population group as compared to people from different groups³⁸⁶.

Humankind has been on the move since the earliest times sharing technological advancements and intermixing the genetic makeup of populations across the globe. So, the idea of pinning ones identity and sense of allegiance to geographical areas or, even more absurd, to national boundaries or skin types and then searching for any cultural or historical achievements within those areas for a source of pride or pre-eminence over others is nonsense.

For instance, a 2014 study³⁸⁷ that analysed the genome data from 1490 individuals across 95 geographical areas found that, in just 50 years, during the second half of the 13th century, the conquering Mongol nomads from East-Central Asia transmitted a genetic legacy in populations throughout their vast realm, the largest, contiguous empire in human history, most notably within populations living today in East Asia, South-Central Asia, Europe and America³⁸⁸. Similarly, the Arab slave trade, from the 7th-19th centuries, carried the genes of West Africans into North Africa and the Mediterranean and the genes of East Africans into the Middle East³⁸⁹. The study concluded: "Admixture to be an almost universal force shaping human populations"³⁹⁰.

Even the British Isles, seemingly isolated in the far north-western corner of Europe, has been shaped both culturally and genetically by a long and steady stream of foreign born arrivals. Over a five year period, Bryan Sykes, Professor of Genetics at the University of Oxford, collected and analysed the DNA samples of 10,000 volunteers in a bid to trace the genetic origins of the peoples of Britain and Ireland. In *Blood of the Isles*, Sykes concludes that the majority of Britain's indigenous population, the Celts, are descended from a relatively modern tribe of Iberian fishermen who crossed the Bay of Biscay from northern Spain some 6,000 years ago³⁹¹. He found that the western half of the British Isles, including most of Ireland is overwhelmingly populated by the descendants of migrants from the early Neolithic period who arrived via the western route from today's Spain³⁹².

A 2006 study by geneticists at University College London concluded that over the course of a few hundred years, or 15 generations, between 10,000 and 200,000 Anglo-Saxon settlers swiftly dominated the gene pool of medieval England, at that time home to around 2 million ancient Britons³⁹³. Authors of the report concluded: "We consider 50% to be a conservative estimate of the proportion of y-chromosomes in the present day English gene pool that originate among Anglo-Saxon migrants in the fifth century"³⁹⁴.

In his 2012 book *DNA USA*, Sykes turned his attention from the British Isles to North America and found that most indigenous Americans have more African or European DNA than indigenous DNA, virtually all African Americans whose ancestors were enslaved have some European DNA, and African DNA is found in white Americans especially in the southern states³⁹⁵. In 2015, the first large-scale nationwide study of the genetic ancestry of over 160,000 self-described European

Americans, African Americans and Latinos by population geneticist Katarzyna Bryc et al. concluded: "We document pervasive mixed ancestry and asymmetrical male and female ancestry contributions in all groups studied"³⁹⁶.

All this calls into question the notion of distinct group identities along "racial" lines and evokes some interesting insights into the negative correlation between ethnic or "racial" self-identity and true genetic ancestry, namely that large gaps exist between who people think they are and who they really are. A striking example occurred on the American daytime talk show "Trisha" in 2013 when guest Craig Cobb, self-proclaimed White supremacist and Neo-Nazi, underwent a televised DNA test to prove his presumed white genetic heritage but results showed him to be 14 percent sub-Saharan African³⁹⁷. Roberts affirms: "We're all members of a young species, going back less than 200,000 years. When we trace our ancestry back, we find that we're all related, on a great family tree of humanity. You can't rank people any more that you could rank twigs on a tree. We all have the same, very great-grandmother in African Eve. So wherever we've ended up, all over the world, we are all Africans under the skin"³⁹⁸.

So, from time immemorial, and in spite of the absence of modern forms of transport, people have moved back and forth around the world for a wide variety of reasons, mostly to improve their circumstances or because they were forced to do so. These great movements of people described above should however, be seen as occurring simultaneously alongside countless individual, family and small group migrations that have also been undertaken during the course of human history. Indeed, we *Homo sapiens* have, from our beginnings in East Africa, been constantly moving from place to place and only somewhat recently, since the start of farming, around 10-11,000 years ago, have we begun to settle down, built more permanent dwellings and aspired to own more than we can carry. Many of us have kept on the move or migrated at least once in our lifetimes, within or across borders. Genetically, we are universal beings, with extremely complex human inheritances. So, we should free ourselves from the socially imposed tradition of assigning individuals to certain groupings and defining identities according to mere geographical or physical, so-called "racial" differences. We are a part of one race, the human race: we are all immigrants with highly interwoven histories that trace back relatively recently to the continent of Africa. Let's start acting like it instead of denying who we and others really are. Let us speak out and do what we can when we see our sisters and brothers in the world in dire circumstances, fleeing war and persecution, trying desperately to seek a place of safety for themselves and their children. This is what it is to be a human being and how we should relate to other human beings.

All this being so, any allegiance to national flags makes absolutely no sense. National flags are in fact meaningless, politically engineered distractions, dressed up in simple, child-like, colourful combinations to conjure a false sense of belonging for genetically admixed and heterogeneous populations who by chance were conceived, or came to be conceived, within certain man made, unnatural borders. If there is any flag that does make sense, it is the plain, mono-coloured Black Flag. The Black Flag, used by Anarchists since the 1880s to show their complete opposition to the state, is the antithesis of national flags everywhere. It is the absolute anti-flag, an internationalist negation of state, along with the nationalism created to reinforce it by way of loyalty and patriotism of its citizens. Our sense of belonging should be aligned with humanity not national flags. The brotherhood and the sisterhood of humankind is where our true sense of belonging lies. For the sake of social cohesion and in the collective interest of global peace, it is crucial to understand the reality of human oneness and that, despite our great diversity in physical likeness, we human beings are all African under the skin, one race. We are: Black Skin, Black Flag.

Notes

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2. **United Nations.** *WORLD URBANIZATION PROPECTS 2005 REVISION* p. 1
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8. The Gini Coefficient is an economic measure of inequality of the net incomes of a country's residents, ranging between zero (perfect equality) and 1 (maximum inequality)
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16. *Ibid* p. 1
17. For more details see **Quesada, Patrice.** *MIGRATION, CLIMATE CHANGE AND THE ENVIRONMENT* pp. 71-301
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19. *Ibid* p. 2
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29. **UN Refugee Agency.** *GLOBAL TRENDS, FORCED DISPLACEMENT IN 2015* p. 2
30. *Ibid*
31. **Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre.** *GLOBAL REPORT ON INTERNAL DISPLACEMENT 2016* p. 7
32. *Ibid* p. 27
33. **International Labour Organisation.** *ILO 2012 GLOBAL ESTIMATE OF FORCED LABOUR* p. 1

34. Ibid
35. **UN Office on Drugs and Crime.** *GLOBAL REPORT ON TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS 2014* p. 1
36. **Unicef.** *ENDING CHILD MARRIAGE. PROGRESS AND PROSPECTS.* Unicef publications (USA), 2014 p. 2
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46. Ibid pp. 18-19
47. **Roberts, Alice.** *THE INCREDIBLE HUMAN JOURNEY* p. 52
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BLACK SKIN ★ BLACK FLAG #7

Immigration Matters

A Global History

People migrate for a variety of different reasons, usually triggered by a combination of push/pull factors related to the environment, employment, personal safety, political stability, personal freedom, religious tolerance, or gender inequalities. Black Skin Black Flag Issue 7 takes a look at these migration drivers and examines the main movements of people throughout history from a single starting point in Africa, around 200,000 years ago, up until the present day. It puts emphasis on Jewish, Roma and New World migrations because of the underlying racist conditions that caused these population movements to take place as well as immigration into Britain as this topic is again at the forefront of public and political debate.

Above all, the human story stresses the relatedness of everybody on the planet. So, the idea of pinning ones identity and sense of allegiance to geographical areas or, even more absurd, to national boundaries or skin types and then seeking out any cultural or historical achievements within those areas for a source of pride or pre-eminence over others makes no sense. This has some perilous implications for all those who seek to divide people into nationalities or "races" and then pit one against the other in the form of nationalism, patriotism or racism. All this calls into question the notion of distinct group identities along "racial" lines and evokes some interesting insights into the negative correlation between ethnic or "racial" self-identity and true genetic ancestry, namely that large gaps exist between who people think they are and who they really are.

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